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Devonshire .

By the

Rev. Hilderic Friend. . .

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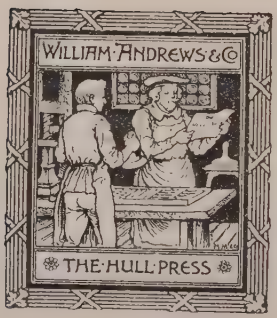
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Preface.

IT is a matter of satisfaction for me to be able to include in my "Bygone Series" a volume from the painstaking pen of the Rev. Hilderic Friend. He has spent many years in studying the history of Devonshire. Mr. Friend is familiar with the historic highways and byways of the country, and I venture to think his latest work will find favour with lovers of local lore.

WILLIAM ANDREWS.

THE HULL PRESS,
March 7th, 1898.

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BYGONE DEVONSHIRE.

Place Names, Rhymes, and Reasons.

THERE is a peculiar fascination about the study of place-names. This fascination, moreover, exists for, and throws its spell over the popular mind, quite as certainly as it does over that of the antiquary. Hence the many attempts to explain a striking name. To this we owe some of our most curious legends, and here we are able to trace the workings of the imagination in days more romantic than our own. A man hears a new name for the first time, and naturally asks—What does it mean? It is always humiliating to have to confess ignorance, and equally gratifying to pose as an authority. We therefore cast about us for a clue. A town stands near the line and is known as Haltwhistle. Surely the reason is patent. Here the train must halt and whistle lest

anyone in crossing be cut to pieces! It matters not that the name existed ages before the first train passed that way; things fit, and what is fitting and seemly should not be too harshly criticized.

A heavy charge must be laid upon the scholars and antiquaries, who, during the last quarter of a century, have done so much to drive the poetry out of our Devonshire place-names, by bringing them to the touch-stone of linguistic facts and laws, by denying to us the right to call in the Druids and fairies, the old Teutonic gods, and the heroes of chivalry to account for the rhythmic and poetic names with which our tors, streams, vales and villages abound. We loved to think that the wise men of old gathered in solemn conclave under the oaks of the Wistman's Wood, and if *wist* and *wise* differ by a letter that is a small matter where consonants are of little moment and vowels count for nothing. Surely, too, we might be allowed to believe that Drewsteignton derived its name from the Druids of yore; that Honeyditches was so called because the busy bee found nectar in the sunny south, and the place flowed with milk and honey; and that Heavitree was so designated because here the gallows, or the 'heavy-tree,' was so frequently erected for execution.

But science is a cruel and heartless thing. It has no bowels of compassion for our pets. It lifts up the knife against our most cherished darlings, and when these have thoroughly gripped our sentiment and emotion the fatal blow is struck. Law, it says, must be enforced. Poetry must yield to history, fancy to fact, imagination to realism, popular etymology to scientific definition.

Under these stern necessities it may be well if we cull, from the folk-speech and legendary lore of Devonshire, a few gleanings relating to the names of places, together with some rhymes and traditions bearing thereon. We shall learn, in so doing something of the love of home which is inherent in the peasant breast, with the disgust which is felt at the upstart claims of others. We shall see how the primitive mind operates in presence of problems which lack of correct information makes it difficult to solve, while we shall have pleasing illustrations of poetic fancy and old-time tradition. Envy, it would seem, has always dwelt in the human breast.

PLACE RHYMES.

We shall see in a later chapter that Crediton was the seat of a bishop before Exeter claimed the

honour, and there is a curious place-rhyme relating to these two towns which shows the kind of feeling which the former entertained towards her successful rival. We are told—

"Kirdon was a market town
When Ex'ter was a vuzzy down."

We fear the matter-of-fact historian will not endorse the statement, and we can scarcely acquit the rhymster. Some one, at any rate, has been guilty of plagiarism, for we learn that—

"Plympton was a borough town
When Plymouth was a fuzzy down."

There is, however, in the latter instance, as Mr. Worth has pointed out, some show of reason seeing that Plympton, under the name Plintona, was, when 'Domesday' was compiled, the chief centre of population for many miles round.

Totnes again is famous in poetry, albeit the rhymster was no perfect master of the art. When Brutus landed here he burst forth—

"Here I stand, and here I rest,
And this place shall be called Totnes."

Now it is easy (for those who are not over scrupulous in the matter of derivation) to see that Totnes means something like "Stand at Ease,"

TOTNES CHURCH.

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for it is the French (but not of Parys as Chaucer would remind us) *Tout a l'aise!* Surely a pretty conceit, which ought not to be so rudely handled as it is by the scornful linguist of to-day.

Some of these rhymes should be enough to make the money-lover of to-day anxious to sell all that he hath and buy the estates to which they refer, in order that he may acquire the wealth which they contain. Here again we come across the plagiarist. One has said that—

> "If Cadbury Castle and Dolbury Hill dolven were,
> Then Devon might plough with a golden coulter,
> And eare with a gilded shere."

Dolven is the participle of to delve, and too many are ready to say "I cannot dig," for—

> "When Adam delve and Eve span,
> Who was then the gentleman?"

Our rhyme is sometimes modified and runs as follows—

> "If Cadbury and Dolbury dolven were
> All England might plough with a golden share."

When I resided at Newton Abbot a similar distich was applied by the people to the neighbouring hill, which was supposed to be the burial place of a Danish King.

"If Denbury Down a level were,
All England might plough with golden share."

It is strange that, with such wealth at hand, no one should have the necessary enterprise to level the Downs. Perhaps the people lack faith in their own effusions. Or is it that they fear the fiery dragon which maintains a never-ceasing vigil over the treasures which these ancient earthworks contain?

Devonshire, like other counties, has its Cold Harbour, a name which is frequently associated with old Roman Roads. Concerning this place it is said—

"The devil's dead
And buried in Cold Harbour."

Hatherleigh stands in a district which is noted as being one of the worst cultivated and least productive in the whole of the county. This unenviable notoriety has given rise to the couplet—

"The people are poor
As Hatherleigh moor."

Wollacombe Tracy, in the neighbourhood of Morthoe—a name which is naturally associated with tragedy—is named after a family of whom it is said—

". . . The Tracys
Had always the wind in their faces."

FOLK ETYMOLOGY.

Some place-names lend themselves to popular explanations, and seem to court attention by their very suggestiveness. Who, for example, could hesitate as to the meaning of the Spinster's Rock? Evidently some old maid has had something to do with it. One writer tells us it is so named because, like a spinster, it stands alone, thus conveying the idea of desolation and barrenness, of solitude and individuality. Another sees in it an allusion to a spinner, the spinster being so called because it fell to her lot in the long ago to spin the family yarns. Hence the fame woman has acquired in the matter of yarn-spinning. Another, however, will have it that the rock was erected by three spinsters one morning before breakfast. It is, of course, very natural for the student of folk-lore to trace here a relic of the old Norse mythology. The three spinsters are the three Weird Sisters cropping up again. We have met with them in Macbeth, but with Chaucer they are the fatal Sustrin. They allot to every man his term of life, and as they also bestow wisdom, they are the wise women. When a child

is born they approach and pronounce his doom. They enter the castle as well as the cot, and at night spin the threads of fate, and stretch the golden cord in the midst of heaven. They do so many powerful things that it would be a very easy matter for them to fix up a tor.

The curious pile of rocks, which is pointed out to the tourist near Manaton, bears the name of Bowerman's Nose. One naturally expects so suggestive a name to have a legend attached to it. Bowerman is therefore a whilom worthy who owned the estate in the olden time, and was remarkable for his facial peculiarities. The rocks resemble the nose of the man, and are therefore named after that person. Alas! your unimaginative antiquary comes and cuts the ground from under you. He has been through Domesday, but can find no landowner named Bowerman; and, moreover, he has turned up his Celtic word-list and found that *man* means 'a stone,' and Bower is a corruption of *maur* which means '*great.*' The name Manaton itself is on the same principle shewn to have a purely rocky, and not a human association.

In the days when the Druids were in special favour among historians and linguists nearly

every name which began with Tu or Drew was referred to them or the gods of Scandinavia. What one could not explain the other could. Thus Drewsteignton was easily shown to be the town on the Teign founded, inhabited, or owned by the Druids. Dewerstone, a romantic spot, of which the Devonshire poet Carrington was specially fond, clearly owes its name, according to these etymologists, to Tieu or Tuisco, the god after whom Tuesday has been named. These pretty fancies cannot now be entertained. One Drogo or Drewe, unknown to the student of myths and ancient religions—a man probably who 'came over with the Conqueror,' and snapped up the tit-bits which were then so plentiful, has ousted the priests and deities. Honiton naturally falls into two parts. The final syllable 'ton' is clear enough, and 'Honi' remains. *Honi soit qui mal y pense.* Honi means shame, and Honiton is therefore the town of shame. We are not told how the shame came about, but the seal of the Corporation is an antiquarian puzzle. Two figures, apparently male and female, have above them a hand, with fingers extended, as in the act of blessing, and beneath them a spray of honeysuckle blossom. An old writer says the male figure

represents an idol, before whom the female presents herself in prayer for the gift of a child. The legend avers that, just as in the East to-day, so formerly at Honiton, the would-be mother was directed to spend a day and a night in prayer in St. Margaret's Chapel, whereupon her desire would be gratified.

The name Moretonhampstead, usually contracted to Moreton, is well adapted for popular treatment. The town was once a considerable centre for the manufacture of serge.

This industry was in all probability more or less under the direction of Flemish operatives or other foreign workmen; and as according to popular tradition they worked in or belonged to three sections, one had its home on the moor, another its stead, and the third its town, hence the Moor-town-ham-stead! Domesday, however, again sends out its protest, and tells us that it was a royal manor belonging to Harold, centuries before the Fleming era.

On Dartmoor we find a number of Tors, many of which have very fanciful names, the very origin of which is in numerous instances absolutely lost. Some of these names seem to be clearly borrowed from natural or artificial objects as a sheep, a bell,

or a cow. One of these curious rocks is distinguished by the name of Belle-tor. The spelling is frequently phonetic merely, there being no clue to the meaning. In this instance the sound suggests many different ideas. It may be that of a bell from the shape of the rock; a belle, because it stands forth like a graceful damsel; or Bel an ancient deity, on account of the supposed former worship of Baal on this dreary moor. Then we have Bair-Down, which may suggest the thought of bareness. As this part of the district, however, is not now as bare as some others, we must try again. Tradition therefore relieves us by affirming that this is the spot where the last Dartmoor bear was despatched. The patron of Druidism now comes forward and claims the down for the bard. Thus we read that "Dun, now altered to down, means a hill. We may naturally imagine, therefore, that it was originally called Baird, or Bard-dun, *Bardorum mons*, 'the hill of bards." And the etymology of the word bard will confirm this opinion."

How tempting, again, is such a name as Merrivale and Merripit. What scenes of revelry and delight are suggested thereby. In the sequestered valley and the forsaken pit the fairies held their

midnight revels, the good folk danced and frolicked, the elves rejoiced and made merry. Presently, however, it was discovered that the word merry was only another way of saying or writing miry, and the pit and vale instantly lost the mirth and laughter and were transformed into the common-place and matter-of-fact Miry-vale and Miry-pit!

But I must pursue this interesting branch of our subject no further. I wish now to indicate some of the

PITFALLS AND SAFEGUARDS

of the etymologist. Of the numerous dangers into which the student of Devonshire place-names may fall, two only can be here indicated. The first arises from a wish to apply to the names of places a pet theory about old-time inhabitants, invasions, religions, and the like. One man has a craze for Druidism, another for Celticism, and a third for Scandinavianism. This man is searching for traces of Cæsar and the Romans; a second is at the heels of the Phœnicians or the Danes, and another wants to connect the Welsh with the county. Men bent on discoveries soon develope a wonderful facility for making them, and by a

little ingenuity can turn almost any name they come across to good account. Another class of students approach the subject rather from the standpoint of tribal occupation, and are always in search of words which can be connected with personal and family names. We have need to be constantly on guard against the philologist with a craze.

The second danger is of another kind. The investigator is actuated by the idea that the explanation which is most readily suggested by the happiest form of the word is the one which must be accepted. In Oxfordshire we find a village called Heyford. A writer having seen the name somewhere written Hayford wrote to say it was evidently the Ford for Hay! It would be easy for such an expert to shew that the ford was used for hay only, because at other seasons of the year there would be too much water in the stream to allow of corn, felled timber or other commodities to be carried over! So in Devon we find a romantic pile of rocks known as Heytor. On this principle it is enough to say that the farmers used to carry their hay to the breezy height that it might dry more quickly than in the valley; or that it was customary formerly to cut the grass on

the top of the tor and make it into hay. Now under this heading we have to remember several facts. Formerly names were rarely committed to writing. When they were eventually written each scribe chose his own method of spelling, and each different form might suggest a different etymology. Names were often modified in speech and writing to make them fit in with a theory prevalent at one time or another as to the meaning of the name. Many illustrations might be adduced, but I will select the name Oakhampton as a type. I am not aware that the Druid-cult comes in here, except it be in connection with the oak. The name Druid is popularly derived from one of the names for the oak, and as famous oaks were the resorts of the priests as well as prominent landmarks, the town of Oakhampton might easily be regarded as a seat of Druidism. The second class of students, however, say at once—here we have the Home-town by the Oak. Ham and ton denote two distinct batches of settlers. The first had their ham or home by the Oak, and so called it Oakham, a name we meet with elsewhere. When the second group of settlers arrived they called the place their ton or town, and so there naturally up-grew the completed designation Oak-

ham-ton. Believing this to be the meaning, scribes have in the course of time evolved the present form of this name from an older Okehampton, where the syllable Oke as written suggests something different from the Oak as pronounced. If we go to the town itself we find the people speaking of it as Ockington. Our Oak now disappears, and our ham as well, but a new suggestion arises. The middle syllable is a tribal ending or patronymic. Ockington is clearly the town or residence of the Ocking tribe, so the man who is studying the distribution of clans and families claims this name for the support of his theory. And now Domesday, and the heartless destroyer of pet theories, comes along, and with one rude blow crushes all our pretty but foundationless creations by telling us that Oakhampton should be written Okehampton, and that Ockington and Oakhampton alike are traceable to an earlier form Ochementone, or Ockmenton, *i.e.* the town on the river Ockment. And this is clearly a decisive conclusion.

To safeguard ourselves, therefore, it is necessary in the first place to try and ascertain the earliest form of the name on record. We must bring all we can of history and fact to bear on the question,

and we must not be narrow in our researches. I have found much light on the names in Devonshire by studying the similar names in Cumberland. Celtic districts should be compared with Celtic, Danish with Danish, Saxon with Saxon, and Roman with Roman. The names of rivers, mountains, valleys, crags, shorelands, and lowlands in one district or county, should be compared and contrasted with those found under similiar circumstances elsewhere. In this way waves of population can be traced, and frequently a phonetic modification in one locality will instantly elucidate a puzzling name in another. One other task now remains, namely, that of

THE STUDY OF PLACE NAMES.

Guessing at etymology is not now permissible. Legendary and traditional explanations, while serving a useful purpose, must not be accepted as *bonâ fide* derivations. We must go to the root of the matter. Devonshire will afford the careful student of early names a splendid field of research. The mountains, rivers, and prominent natural features will first claim attention, then he may descend to cities, towns, and villages. Next there are manors and farms, roads and fields, trees or

stones, and minor objects of interest, each and all of which will be found to have some story to tell, or some hint to supply. To begin with the rivers. We find here, as in many other parts of the country, distinct traces of Celticism. Each of the larger rivers of Devonshire bears a Celtic name. Take, for example, the three words for water, dwr, uisg, and tay, with their various modifications, and from the first we get the Dart, sometimes called also the Darent, corresponding with the Derwent, as well as with the Adder, Dour, and Darwin. From the second we obtain the Exe, on which are seated Exeter and Exmouth, the Ockment and Okehampton, and the Axe, with Axminster and Axmouth. With these correspond the Esk, Ash, Usk, Ux, and Ouse, to mention no others. From the third, which yields elsewhere the Thame and the Thames, the Tame and the Teme, we derive the Devonshire Tavy and Taw, Torridge, Teign and Tamar.

The hills of Devonshire have none of the striking magnificence which characterizes the mountains of Lakeland. Consequently, while the latter retain their ancient British or Celtic names, we seldom meet with relics of the Celtic language among the Devonshire hills. Some of the Tors and crags in

all probability are still known by the names applied to them by these old-time inhabitants, but in too many instances we can only guess at the matter, and that we have shewn to be unscientific. It is interesting to find a Walla Crag, however, alike in Devonshire and in Cumberland, and other similarities will be pointed out in another connection. We have already seen that Manaton and Bowerman's Nose have a place here. So have the various Pens, as Pen Shiel and Pen Beacon; Henbury and Hennock seem to be associated with the Celtic word *hen*, meaning 'old,' or 'ancient,' and the word for a wood *(coed)* may be found in the final syllable of Dunnagoat. Near Martlock in Somerset we find a hamlet named Coat to which the same origin is assigned; but the Goat of Cockermouth, and Goit or Gowt of Lincoln and elsewhere, have reference, not to a wood but a mill-race. If we cannot give Wistman's Wood over to the Druids or Wise-men we may find a plausible derivation, as Mr. Worth has already pointed out, in *uisg* (water) *maen* (stone) *coed* (wood), 'the damp wood among the tors;' and one has only to read Mrs. Bray's description of the place to realize the appositeness of the name.

Such names as Kelly, Killeton, and Killatree, while full of suggestion for the romancer, will at once remind the traveller of Ireland. Here the whilom groves and woods were known by the name of Kell or Kill (the Celtic *Celli*, a grove, then perhaps a cell or place of retreat), as in the famous Killarney or the cathedral town of Kildare. Knock is another well-known Irish word, and may in all probably be found in Knackersknowle near Plymouth, where Knowle (a hill) and Knack mean the same thing. Everyone who is interested in the folk-lore of place-names has heard of Penny-come-quick, and we cannot help regretting that the scientific study of nomenclature has reduced this romantic name to the commonplace *pen-y-cwm-cuick*, or head of the creek valley, and at the same time crushed out the life of a pretty legend. As in Scotland and Cumberland, where Celtic place-names occur, so in Devonshire, we meet with such forms as Combray or Commery, and the like; and there can be no doubt about the origin and meaning being identical, even though the spelling or pronunciation vary to some extent.

Passing now to the Saxon element in Devonshire place-names, we find that the lesser streams of the county are clearly indebted to that language for

their designations. From the word *Ea*, water, we get the Yeo; but this was formerly the Ashburn. Here we have probably the Celtic Uisg, which we have already found in the Exe and Axe, combined with the later burn. The former name is still retained in Ashburton. Popular etymology however, entirely ignoring history and fact, would refer this name to the Barton by the Ash tree, and so make it mean Ash-farm; or to the town on the burn which flows among the ash trees. The Lyn has received its name from *hlynn*, 'a stream,' and gives us Lynton; just as Lyd from *hlyd*, 'loud' supplies us with Lydford. From the Saxons also we get our becks (as in the charming Becky Falls), burns, and brooks. The names of parishes and towns are chiefly of Saxon origin. We find a large number of place-names ending in ton or tun, don or dun, and if some of these are traceable to downs and dunes, the bulk of them indicate an enclosure or town (in the early sense of the word). Town, in its earlier form ton, was from the A.S. *tún*, corresponding to the Dutch *tuin*, German *zaun*, and Icelandic *tún*, an enclosure, a place surrounded by a fence or hedge, a homestead, farm or town. There are also numerous hams, stowes, burys, and worthys; on

the meanings of which it is needless to dwell. Stead, so frequent in many other places, is found once only in this county, namely in Moreton-hampstead. In this instance I cannot think we have a case of triplication. Hampstead is one word. We find Stowe both alone, and as the first or last portion of a compound. Bury (or Berry) is used in the same way, but while the former means simply a place, the latter includes the idea of protection or fortification, and is often associated with evidences of military occupation.

The occurrence of the syllable *ing* in the middle of many names, especially those which end in *ton*, has given rise to a great amount of controversy. One school maintains that such names as Arlington, Dartington, and Holington indicate that the Arlings, Dartings, and Holings settled here. No doubt in many parts of the country we may so conclude, and it would scarcely be true to affirm that Devonshire is an entire exception. We have seen, however, that the local Ockington may more reasonably be regarded as the town by the river Ockment, than the abode of the Ockings of whom we know nothing. So Dartington may properly be referred, through its old spelling Darentum to the river Darent or Dart, rather than to the

mythical Dartings. Besides which we often meet with the patronymic form without the final ton. Thus one might claim Shillingford to be the ford of the Shillings, another would refer the name to a time when a shilling had to be paid for the privilege of crossing, while a third, with something more of science in his attempt at a derivation, might refer it to a word Shealing, meaning a shelter, a temporary abode, with the idea—the ford by the shed. Ing, again, is the Saxon for a meadow. In Yorkshire we find, even in the heart of Bradford, the Hall Ings, or the meadows belonging to the Hall; and in Devonshire place-names the same word recurrs.

Evidence is sometimes negative. We have instances here. The Danish *by*, so frequent elsewhere, is absent from Devonshire, unless it be found in Huckaby; and of the Scandinavian thwaite I cannot recall a single example. Equally conspicuous by its absence is the Saxon Hurst, a wood. That Devonshire formerly had its woods or Hursts, and its wood-clearings or Thwaites, is certain, but Dane and Saxon were not then to the fore. The woods remain in name either as wood; *e.g.*, Cornwood, Woodleigh and Marwood; as holt, in Chittlehamholt, and perhaps in the quaint

mongrel name by which Exeter was once known as Penholtkeyre; or as spinney or shaw, as in Shobrooke, Chagford, and Sampford Spiney.

I must not omit to notice the influence which the church and monastic institutions have exerted on our old place-names in Devonshire. The sanctuary as a temple is recalled by Templeton, just as in Cumberland we find Temple Sowerby, and in Ireland Templemore. Monkleigh and Monkton, Axminster and Exminster, Dean Prior and Shaugh Prior, Abbot's Kerswell and Newton Abbot, Bishop's Tawton and Bishop's Teignton, with many others, speak for themselves.

In conclusion we gather that the Roman, except in Exeter (or Exan-ceastre, the fort on the Exe) has had but little influence, and left but feeble marks upon the nomenclature. The Dane has scarcely been more successful. The priest and monk have accomplished much, the Saxon and the Celt the most. The latter named the larger rivers, with some woods and hills, some vales and tors, while the Saxon named the homesteads and villages, laid the parish bounds, and made the needful enclosures.

Gleanings among Church Antiquities.

THE remarks with which the foregoing chapter drew to a close naturally suggest some enquiry into matters relating to the Church. I shall, therefore, endeavour in the following pages to put into new form the results of my researches among the older churches of Devonshire. Unfortunately the present century has been one of almost more deplorable iconoclasm than that in which the Puritans wrought such cruel havoc among our national edifices. In this later age, however, it has been the utilitarian spirit, and not the anti-ritual one, which has resulted in such irreparable loss. Formerly there was associated with the parish of Dawlish, an ancient relic of church architecture of priceless value. It consisted of a round tower, almost identical with those which still exist in considerable numbers in Ireland, and of which we yet possess two or three examples in Scotland. Now it is no more.

In Devonshire, as elsewhere in England, ecclesiastical architecture, so far as we are able to study

it to day, practically begins with the Conquest. In a general way it may be affirmed that nothing of a definitely historical character remains to the church antiquary earlier than the eleventh century. What few relics we have belonging to Roman, Dane, or Celt, will find their place elsewhere. And even with reference to the purely Norman remains Devonshire is poor when compared with many other English counties. A few fonts here and there, a doorway arch, moulding, pillar or tower, with occasionally a church whose character as a whole is more or less Norman, covers the ground. In some things, particularly in the matter of screens, Devonshire is fairly rich. But let us give some of the facts first, and draw conclusions afterwards.

I will begin by indicating the position of some

NORMAN REMAINS OF CHURCHES.

If we alight at the pretty, historic town of Axminster, and wend our way to the parish church, we shall there find a Norman porch and doorway at the east end of the south aisle. This position, unusual in ordinary parish churches, where the main entrance is usually west, or south-west, is accounted for by the fact that the building was originally founded as a minster. In its

original condition it was a splendid fabric, and it is well known that where churches were connected with monastic institutions, one of the entrances, leading to and from the cloister court and chapter house, was at the south east. From Axminster we may take a run to Axmouth, where again we shall find a Norman doorway, with a moulded arch. The church to-day, however, has none of that glory, which attached to it when Leland could describe the place as the "olde and bigge fischar towne." At Sidmouth remains of Norman work may be traced in the walls of the Church, which is dedicated to St. Nicholas. The west tower dates from the fifteenth century, and was retained when the structure underwent the process of restoration in 1859. The dedication took place just six hundred years before the date of reconstruction.

The church of St. Michael at Teignmouth, sad scene of sacrilege, and ruthless violence in 1690, still retains its Norman south door, while a fine door way of the same period still exists also at Paignton a place in the immediate neighbourhood of Torquay, which was formerly traditionally associated with the famous Miles Coverdale, and is now a rapidly growing pleasure resort. The main part of the church itself is in the Perpendicular style, and is dedicated

to St. John. The church of Sts. Mary and Peter at Salcombe possesses a Norman tower, together with an Early English chancel. Berry Narbor church likewise has an Early English chancel with a Norman arch. Its composition exhibits also a Perpendicular nave, and a Decorated picturesque tower, so that a stately, and varied building is the result. Within are monuments of the families which were formerly so prominently associated with the adjoining manor-house, of which more hereafter. Several churches have Norman fonts, and of these a list will be supplied in another section. There is a Norman chapel adjoining Bickleigh Court—now a farm-house, but for a long time the residence of the Carews. Most notable among these perhaps was the eccentric King of the beggars, Bamfylde Moore Carew, son of the Rev. Theodore Carew, who, during the seventeeth century was rector here. The low Norman tower of Belston Church is said to be the work of Baldwin de Brionne, Earl of Devon. Some traces of a Norman structure may also be discovered in the parish church at Meavy. Near the bridge may be seen a granite cross nine feet in height, while the Meavy oak, which is thought to have been a vigorous tree in

the days of King John will also be an interesting subject for inspection.

Turning our steps towards Crediton, a town which ranks second only to Exeter in interest for the church antiquary, we find that though the church is mainly Perpendicular, it embodies the Norman portion of a tower which pertained to the original edifice. Of the church itself it does not concern me to speak in the present chapter. And though we now pass on to Exeter, I shall make no allusion to the Cathedral, as that inviting sanctuary will claim a fuller notice by and bye. In the city we find a few scattered relics of Norman times. Thus, the crypt of the Priory, dedicated to St. Nicholas in the Mint Lane, has been retained and transformed into a kitchen. In 1826, when some work was being done about St. Stephen's, two stone columns of the ancient Norman crypt were discovered; some would assign them to the Saxon period, but this seems to us unlikely. Some distinctly Norman features are still retained in the Church of St. Mary Arches, to the north of Fore Street, where some pillars and arches of that period may be seen. The Norman Church of St. Mary Major was replaced by a modern erection in 1866. The sanctuary was of special interest

from its having been, since the days of the Confessor, the place for holding the Court of the Archdeacon of Exeter. St. Pancras, which was restored some years ago under the supervision of Mr. J. Pearson, A.R.A., is one of the oldest churches in Exeter, some portions of the fabric having been regarded as pre-Norman in character. St. Olave's Church, also, claims our attention in this connexion. Its history is full of interest, but we are at present specially concerned with the fact that the ancient foundation dates back to an age prior to the conquest, since William I. granted it to Battle Abbey, in Sussex, a religious house which the Conqueror erected on the spot where Harold fell. It seems strange that a church in Devon should be given to a monastery in Sussex, but such things were not unusual, and tradition, if not history, here supplies us with a reason. St. Olave's is said to have been built originally in the reign of Canute, by Githa, the mother of Harold, and in that case the gift was thoughtful and seemly. Having thus taken a casual survey of the city churches, for the sake of their Norman remains alone, we may now complete our tour of the county.

At Branscombe, now a quiet village, but formerly not lacking importance, we shall find a

church which still retains in part its Norman character. Here after the Branscombes ceased to hold the Manor, the Wadhams came into possession, and from the last owners of the estate by that name we date the foundation of Wadham College, Oxford. The church at Sidbury, too, was originally Norman, but has been re-built. Dedicated to St. Giles, it now shews traces of the earlier work, combined with Early English and Perpendicular masonry. This church has been rendered note-worthy also by the puzzling inscription in the chancel, which perpetuates the memory of Henry Parson, who died "in the second-first climacteric year of his age." Of the church of Tiverton I shall have to speak in another connection. There is a Norman arch at Clovelly.

SOME NOTEWORTHY FONTS.

Some of the churches which we have already visited contain fonts which will attract the attention of the antiquary, while others will be found associated with buildings which are of later date than the Norman period. To begin this time within the Cathedral City itself, we may first of all inspect the font in which royalty has been baptised. The romantic story of Henrietta, wife

of Charles I., the accouchment at Exeter during a time of siege, and her flight by way of Falmouth to Brest in 1644, has been often and variously told. It was in Exeter that Henrietta Anne, afterwards the lovely Duchess of Orleans, was born. The occasion augured ill, and the after-story bears out the fateful prognostications. She was left by her mother in charge of Lady Moreton and Sir John Berkeley, and the Cathedral still retains the font in which the royal, but ill-fated child, was baptised while in their care. Among other noteworthy fonts contained in the city, that of St. Mary Steps demands attention. That in St. Paul's Church is also unusual, being made of black marble.

Taking a run to Torquay, we find ourselves, in due course, inspecting the mother-church at Torre Mohun, a fine old building in the Perpendicular style, and containing an octagonal font which dates from the same period. Here also is an effigy in full armour, which commemorates Ridgway, the father of the first Earl of Londonderry. The church at Slapton, built in the Early English style, dedicated to St. Mary, and possessing a screen which has been richly wrought, also has a font which should be examined. St.

Lawrence, Bigbury, contains another which is of early date, as well as an old pulpit which formerly belonged to Ashburton. The presence of a circular Norman font of plain character at Bideford, suggests that the church of St. Mary, which dates from the fourteenth century, must have been erected on an earlier Norman or Saxon foundation. It is in this way that a relic will sometimes supply a clue to the earlier history of the edifice which contains it. Thus the church at Ilfracombe, as at present seen, appears to belong to the fifteenth century, we find in it, however, a Norman font which has been in the hands of the restorer, and clear evidences that the building itself dates from the twelfth century. It is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and consists of the usual nave, chancel, and north and south aisles. One would judge from the style of the old circular font at Axeminster, as well as from the date of the dedication, and the existence of an original Norman doorway, that we have here a parallel case to the one at Great Malvern. In the latter instance, the heavy circular font is exactly in the style of the massive Norman columns of the nave.

Brampford Speke—the mention of which recalls the name of Captain Speke, the associate

BIDEFORD BRIDGE (AT LOW TIDE).

of Grant in the work of African exploration—has a curious hexagonal font, a shape which was not unusual in connection with the Perpendicular style of architecture, just as the octagonal panelled form was largely associated with the Decorated period. The font at Plymtree is ancient, that of South Molton is likewise of early date, and is associated with a pulpit of stone which is heavily charged with ornamental carvings. The font in the church of Stoke St. Nectan is curious. It represents in its decorations the just looking down upon the unjust. We may also mention Holsworthy font for its ancient character in a church of the Perpendicular sty :. Connected with many of these, there is an amount of interesting folk-lore which one is strongly tempted to record. To do so here, however, would be to unduly lengthen the chapter, and, at the same time, make it impossible for us to do justice to a subject of unusual interest.

While the foregoing list does not pretend to be exhaustive, it is fairly representative, and shews us that in this respect, as in some others, Devon is not by any means so rich in ecclesiastical heirlooms as many of the English counties are. We do not remember to have seen one of her fonts engraved.

PULPITS.

This is not the place to recite the interesting story of the evolution of a pulpit. A word may be said on the subject in a later chapter; here it must suffice to observe that this piece of church furniture seldom dates back to pre-Reformation times with us. Jacobean pulpits are tolerably frequent up and down the country, and sundry parish churches in Devonshire still boast the possession of specimens, which are noteworthy on account of their age, carving, material, or associations. The handsome memorial pulpit in Exeter Cathedral does not here concern us, as it is of modern date. There is a pulpit in the church of the Holy Trinity at Ilfracombe which belongs to the time of James I. The finely-carved oaken pulpit which is still preserved in the old minster church at Axminster, is worthy a careful inspection. It belongs to the year 1633, and is associated with an arched piscina, three sedilia, and an old font—all which are of peculiar interest to the antiquary. The ornamental stone pulpit of South Molton has been mentioned already, and the neighbouring parish of North Molton may be visited for the purpose of seeing the fine stone

pulpit and carved screen which are to be found there. At Pilton Church we find, not only an old-time pulpit, but what is very rare in Devonshire, the iron stand to which was formerly attached the hour-glass by which the length of the preacher's discourse might be measured.

A visit to the attractive church of Stoke St. Nectan, formerly attached to Hartland Abbey, and still possessed of great merit from the architectural as well as the antiquarian standpoint, will be amply repaid. Here, in addition to the curious font, and the numerous memorials, the screen in perfect condition, and the ancient stone altar, is a pulpit of the time of James, carved in black oak with a canopy, the figure of an animal, said to represent a tusked goat, and the legend GOD SAVE KING JAMES, FINIS. It has been suggested that Finis was the carver's name, and the goat his escutcheon. On this point, however, I will pronounce no opinion. In St. James' Church, Exeter, is a pulpit of Spanish workmanship. It is said to have been found in a Spanish galleon, and was formerly in the Cathedral. The church itself is new, but as there was a church in Exeter dedicated to St. James in the thirteenth century, we may assume that this is a reminiscence of the

same. Previous to the year 1222, when the ordinance list of nineteen parish churches was compiled, we find the names of certain chapels which were scattered over the city, including, among others, those of St. Bartholomew, St. Clement, St. Cuthbert, St. Edward, and St. James. The ancient parish church at Dartmouth contains a good pulpit of stone, and a curiously-painted screen, while the old stone pulpit at Totnes is sculptured with the devices of the Twelve Tribes of Israel.

SCREENS.

The screens of Devonshire are among its most noteworthy and precious ecclesiastical relics. The fact that so many have survived is significant. Whether we visit the stately cathedral or the modest parish church, we shall continually be coming across some choice example in wood or stone, curiously carved or rudely painted, entire or somewhat maltreated, in its original state or "restored," either for better or worse, but in each and every case with something that is instructive and valuable. That which still adorns the first church of the city of Exeter, of which more anon, is of singular beauty and interest. Also, within

the city, we may observe the noticeable fifteenth century screen which was brought from St. Mary Major, and set up in St. Mary Steps, and the oaken screen in the church of St. Lawrence, High Street, with an altar-piece by Bacon. This church, which originally belonged to the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary de Valle in Normandy, was bought by the parishioners in 1658, when the number of churches was compulsorily reduced, for £100, and has, needless to say, passed through the hands of the restorer. The church at Coleridge is enriched by a beautiful Perpendicular screen, together with an effigy in armour of John Evans, dating from 1514. Evans is assumed to be the donor of the screen, in which case it probably belongs to the close of the fifteenth century. Here we also find a stained glass figure of Edward V., the more noteworthy because old glass is rare in this county.

There is a rood-screen in the church at Chumleigh, a church which was at one time collegiate, with seven prebends distinct from the rectory. Such curiosities in church organization are by no means rare, and are full of historical significance. Here history and legend, as usual, divide the honours between them. The neigh-

bouring church of Atherington possesses a remarkable screen of very fine workmanship, together with some good stained glass and some fifteenth-century effigies. A splendid screen separates the chancel from the nave in the curious old parish church of Kenton, a short distance from the romantic Powderham Castle. The edifice itself belongs to the Decorated period, the tower of the church being one hundred feet in height. The ruddy stone of which it is built gives it a warm and homely appearance. The chancel screen at Totnes is of stone, and is both gilded and painted. A spiral staircase leads from the chancel to the rood-loft, where we find one of the old church libraries. The not far distant church of Harberton is entitled to notice chiefly on account of its screen.

Returning to examine the fine cruciform church at Dartmouth, consecrated by Bishop Brantingham (1370-1394), and dedicated to St. Saviour, we find in the beautiful interior, besides its misereres and pulpit, an oaken screen of graceful design and execution. It formerly supported the rood-loft, and, still serves to separate the nave from the chancel. At Slapton Church, with its Early English characteristics, we find a screen which

has been richly worked. As early as the reign of Henry II., the manor of Slapton belonged to the ancient De Brians, from whom it descended to the Percys. Thus Alnwick, in Northumberland, and Cockermouth, in Cumberland, come to be associated with a village in Devon.

Unless it has been recently "restored," the handsome oaken screen which adorns the parish church of Honiton is disfigured by paint. Bishop Courtenay erected the edifice in 1484, and it was dedicated to St. Michael as a priory chapel Here rest the remains of Thomas Marwood, who is said to have practised the art of medicine for seventy-five years, during a portion of which time he was physician to Queen Elizabeth. The house built by his son at Honiton has survived the ravages of fire, and escaped the hand of the despoiler, and is interesting as having afforded shelter to Charles I. on July 25th, 1644. There is a richly-wrought rood-screen in the Perpendicular church of St. Peter, Combe Martin—the "mile long man stye," as Kingsley ungraciously designates the straggling village. Fenton, memorable on account of its associations with the Pattesons, also boasts an ancient screen, as well as a fine altar tomb supporting the effigy of an emaciated corpse.

Collumpton merits special notice. The church, in addition to the usual aisles, has a chapel on the south side, built, in 1528, by a clothier named John Lane, and hence known as Lane's Aisle. The roof is elaborately enriched with fan-tracery, gilt carved work, ornamental figures of seraphim, and other curiosities. The screen is exquisitely carved with representations of the vine leaf, and near the font are preserved two curiously carved pieces of oak, the rare remains of an ancient Calvary, with skulls and bones, and the mortise by which the cross was secured. The reader who has visited countries where Romanism is predominant will be able to realize what these invaluable relics mean. A curious painting of the Crucifixion, and an elaborate screen, dating from 1528 may be found at Bradninch, while the neighbouring church of Plymtree "contains a screen, which has been described in a valuable volume by the late rector, the Rev. T. Mozley. The chief feature is a fine array of painted panels. One of the groups figured represents the Adoration of the Three Kings, and in this Mr. Mozley identifies the portraits of Henry VII., Prince Arthur, and Cardinal Morton, the most remarkable Englishman of his period, of

whom there is no likeness extant if this be not one." This allusion to painted panels reminds us that the rood screen at Exeter is likewise adorned with a series of thirteen oil paintings, of very early, and equally rude workmanship, but invaluable as illustrations of Early English art.

The screen at Stoke St. Nectan, which is in perfect preservation, is elaborately enriched with carved work, and it is here also that we find, "what is far more noteworthy, the stone altar standing in its original place." We may refer the reader also to Pinhoe, Bampton, and North Molton. Others not less beautiful or suggestive than the foregoing might be named, but sufficient has been said to indicate how wide a field is here presented to the church antiquary. The variety of material employed, the nature of the decorative work, the illustrations of early art, the symbolism, age, and history, all demand attention, and will repay research. The few remaining accessories, as, for example, the Calvary at Collumpton, and the altar at Stoke, are of priceless value to those who would completely master the details of a pre-Reformation church.

Some Ruined Castles.

AROUND the castles of old England the life of mediæval times centred in such wise that they are inseparably associated with whatever of historic interest remains to us from the age of chivalry. The grey old ruins are eloquent, and there is pathos in their language. Laughter and tears are blended, purity and crime are alike represented. Here were played those games by which empires were lost and won. Here noblest blood was shed for noblest cause, and here the wretched victim of jealousy and hate was secretly done to death. These walls have re-echoed alike the cry of despair and the *pœan* of victor. From out these gates has the proud lord gone forth to fight for king and country, never more to return; while through these gates the beautiful bride, the chivalrous knight and wooer, and even the crowned head, has passed into the open arms of a lover so true, or a subject so loyal, as only England could produce.

Of all the ruined castles of Devon, none, me-

thinks, can compare with that of Berry Pomeroy. None certainly has left, on my own mind and imagination, so vivid an impression. The extent of the remains, including the noble gateway and its towers, together with the shell of a stately mansion of a later date; the age and nature of the architecture; the retired and entrancing situation, and the curious traditions and folk-lore associated therewith, all render it unusually attractive. Here grows the famous wishing-tree. You have only to walk round it backwards three times and you obtain all you desire. How many have tried it? How many having tried the task have succeeded? And having tried, and succeeded, how many have gained their end? Probably few. The tree stands, most provokingly, on the side of a shelving bank, and he would be entitled to a considerable reward who could thrice encompass the tree backwards without a fall. For years I kept a sacred branch of the famous tree in my study, but the hand of sacrilege at last swept it away as worthless. Alas! that the age of poetry and romance should so completely have left us!

Pomeroy is easy of access. The train will convey the tourist to the picturesque town of Totnes, and for the rest, if the walking powers

are feeble, a little silver will provide the needed means. The visitor should arrange beforehand to have with him, not this or that society, such and such costume, provisions, and other material aids to enjoyment, but a right frame of mind, a becoming mental mood. Claret cup and sandwiches may be dispensed with for a time if the poetic and imaginative faculties are alive, and the historic memory keen. Thought will carry us back to earliest times. We shall fancy the old-world builder, delving among earth and rock that he may pile up his burgh, stronghold, or 'berry,' in a district whose population is sparse, and whose manners are rude. We shall see the Conqueror sweep across the land, bestowing largess with a liberal hand, and witness him here (potentially, at least, if not personally) granting to one Ralph de Pomeroy some three score lordships, and the right to build his castle and establish his baronial seat at Berry. We shall watch the banner floating in the breeze which bears as badge the king of beasts, and shall remember how frequently the lion has played the part of totem in Britain.

In the course of five hundred years we shall see the power of the Pomeroys wane, and the estate pass to the Seymours. Then the beautiful

BERRY POMEROY CASTLE.

mansion will begin to rise within the fortress, whose walls alone remain to-day to tell the story of old-time grandeur. No less a sum than £20,000 is said to have been spent on the Tudor buildings, which even then were not completed. Prince, who was vicar of the adjoining church for some forty years, and is one of our first authorities on matters relating to Devon, informs us of the splendour of the apartments, especially the dining hall, with its statues in alabaster and figures richly carved and coloured, its polished marble chimney-piece curiously engraved, and its other works of art and vertu. Now all is gone—the glory is departed, and it is only by a powerful effort of the imagination that we can re-people the waste places, and fill with life and beauty the scene of desolation and decay. A pathway to the right of the gateway will lead the visitor to an enimence above the quarry, from which he will obtain a delightful view. Before leaving the neighbourhood we shall inspect the church, with its elaborate screen, its Seymour monuments, and the tomb of its whilom vicar, Prince, author of "The Worthies of Devon."

It will be decorous for us now to turn to Rougemount. If Berry appeals to us on the grounds of

beauty and romance, Exeter is equally clamorous for our notice on more purely historical grounds. Ignoring historical sequences, we may at the outset remind the reader that Shakespeare has immortalized the Red Mount in his *Richard III.* :

> "Richmond! When last I was at Exeter,
> The Mayor in courtesy showed me the castle,
> And called it Rougemount; at which name I started,
> Because a bard of Ireland told me once
> I should not live long after I saw Richmond."

The traveller in South Devon is struck by the ruddy colour of the soil. This is perhaps nowhere more noticeable than on the line between Newton Abbot and Torquay. Names drawn from these natural appearances are frequent. Just as the new red sand-stone of Cumberland suggested to the Celt the name Penrith, so the like appearance in Devonshire supplied the Norman Rougemount. Both names mean the same, but the component elements are reversed—Pen = Mount, Rith = Rouge. It is even said that before the Normans came Exeter was known as Penryth or Caer-ryth and Pencaer. William of Worcester makes Rougemount a corruption of the name of a baron Rothemund, but he is a myth, while the red soil is a fact.

It may here be noted that in 1880 a new window was placed in the Rougemount Hotel, Exeter, to commemorate the event alluded to by our great bard in the lines we have quoted. The account which John Hoker, city chamberlain and historian, has left us, has been followed in the design which the artist has worked out. Abridged it reads thus. Richard, during his short stay in Exeter viewed the city and the castle, which, with the surrounding country greatly pleased his Majesty. When, however, they told him that it was called Rougemount, he suddenly fell into "a greate dumpe." At length, recovering, he exclaimed, "I see my dayes be not longe," and so it proved.

We may well believe the Rougemount was used as a stronghold from the earliest times. It has never, during the historical period, been dissociated from fortifications. Kelt and Roman, Saxon and Dane, not less than Norman, each in turn has had his fortress here for a longer or shorter time, and with more or less of power and success. If in some respects Exeter, owing to its position, has been left alone, in others it has been one of the great focus-points of English history. Formerly the seat of the West Saxon Kings,

tradition delighted to tell how the Romans had already, under Julius Cæsar, prepared for their use a castle such as only Roman masons could construct. These lovers of tradition also inform us that Brutus, the Trojan, founded the city, the Romans coming at a later date to carry on what he had begun. Tradition has its uses, but it must not be elevated to the rank of history till it has been weighed in the balance. We are, however, on historic ground when we affirm that the Romans built a fortress on the Exe, and so gave to us the present name of the city—the Saxon Exan-ceastre, Exeter. We cannot, however, now find at Exeter such splendid remains of Roman military architecture as Pevensey and some other strong-holds supply, and have to be content if we can go back to Roman times. Flames of fire, and the rude hand of the besieger, have done much towards the dismantling of the castrum ; time, neglect, or wilful destruction have done the rest, and now the remains are meagre and unimportant. Yet no visitor to this classical city can afford to depart without taking a stroll along its ramparts, and endeavouring to recall a few of the stirring events with which it has been so intimately associated in the past. From

DARTMOUTH CASTLE.

the year 1068, when the Norman builders commenced their work, down till the time of the civil wars, we shall find abundant themes for the production of pictures of historic interest.

From Exeter it will be well to proceed to the stately grounds and historic house of Powderham; for Powderham Castle holds, we are told, "the first place among the ancient mansions of the county. No other great house continues so fully its ancient glories. Nearly six centuries have passed since the Courtenays first seated themselves by the Exe, at Powderham, and there amidst many vicissitudes they have continued." Leland speaks of it in his time as a stout fortress, with a barbican or bulwark to beat the haven. It was originally founded by its Norman owner, who, as was frequently the case, took for surname the manor which he held, or the one which he chose for his seat. We read that the manor passed from John de Powderham to Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford. Humphry's daughter being married in 1325 to Hugh Courtenay, second Earl of Devon by that name, the estate passed to that family; and when Earl Hugh gave it to his son, Philip, the castle was remodelled and strengthened.

From that time till this there has been a Courtenay owner without a break, though for a time the earldom was allowed to lapse. The castle sustained two sieges during the Civil wars. Being strongly fortified for the King, it was attacked in 1645 by Fairfax, who failed in his attempt to carry it. The next year, however, it succumbed. While the visitor is here he should endeavour to see the art treasures which the house contains. A walk to the Belvedere, and a careful inspection of the church, will also be rewarded.

There is, perhaps, little to choose between the remaining ruins. We will therefore retrace our steps to Totnes. The position is central for the antiquary, and will supply us with much that is of historical value. Putting aside all traditional allusions to Trojan and Roman, and all semi-historical side-lights on the life of Kelt and Saxon, we plunge at once *in medias res* in the days of the Norman Conquest. At this time Totnes was already a town of considerable note, its population being second only to that of Exeter among the Devonshire burghs, and its lands forming part of the demesne of the royal Confessor. He who with liberal hand had given to Pomeroy

POST BRIDGE, DARTMOOR.

CITY OF WESTMINSTER
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some three-score manors, lavished upwards of a hundred upon Judhel, another of his followers, and forthwith the Norman lord established his seat here and became henceforth Judhel of Totnes. He, doubtless, commenced fortifications without delay, and though the splendid keep which still remains seems to be of a later date, we shall not be far wrong in assuming that the foundations of the fortress are Norman. The keep is circular in form, and being profusely mantled with ivy forms a most picturesque ruin, while it commands an outlook of more than usual beauty and interest. The Duke of Somerset has thrown the grounds open to the public.

From Totnes we may revisit Pomeroy, then pass on to Dartmouth. The usual guide books will supply all the information necessary for the tourist, as he takes this delightful journey. It is needless to say that the river Dart affords the readiest and most delightful means of reaching the quaint old town at its mouth. It is an easy thing for your *multum in parvo* traveller to leave Exeter in the morning, "do" Totnes, Berry Pomeroy, the river Dart, Kingswear and Dartmouth, with a few other places of interest, and get back to his hotel again the same night. We

should wish, however, for a little more leisure for our reader. He may prefer, on arrival, to inspect Kingswear first. The foundations of a castle which are here to be seen are of peculiar interest, because, associated therewith are the groove and holes in the rock which received the massive guard-chain thrown across the river of yore to protect it against invasion. Near by was the guard-room provided for the men whose duty it was to haul up or drop the cable, the holes into which the woodwork was inserted being still in existence on the face of the rock. The town is ancient, and high above the church is a fortress of five bastions, spoken of by Fairfax as the Kingsworth Fort.

Dartmouth Castle occupies the corresponding position on the other bank of the river, and the cable connected the twin fortresses. The round tower probably dates only from the time of Henry VII. Yet the square tower is still more modern. Ruins of a more ancient castle, however, may be found near the Chapel, and from the importance of Dartmouth during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when it even rivalled the Cinque Ports, we may assume that its fortification dates at least as

KINGSWEAR CASTLE.

CITY OF WESTMINSTER
PUBLIC

far back as that period. Mr. Worth has clearly shewn that the position of Dartmouth relatively to that of Totnes gave the latter place the premier position in days when such exposed situations as that of Dartmouth were unsafe for the carrying on of trade and commerce. Only in an age when castles, strongholds, and defences could be readily reared, would it be possible for places so liable to attack to develope. The choice of Dartmouth, in 1190, as the rendezvous for a portion of the Lion-hearted Richard's crusading fleet, indicates the position it then held, and a hundred years previously Rufus had chosen it as the port whence he would embark for Normandy.

"I doubt if a more picturesque place than Dartmouth, from the river, can be found in England," says an enthusiastic writer. We endorse his words, and may add that the picturesque ruins of the castle are not the least among its charms.

It is to be feared that after having seen Rougemount and Berry, Totnes, Dartmouth and Powderham, the student will look askance at the remaining ruins. It is my

duty, however, to name them in order, that a correct idea may be obtained of the Devonshire of the past from the strategic and military standpoint. We therefore return to Totnes, and hasten to Okehampton, of which it is said that there is no town in Devon which seems to be more thoroughly the creation of its castle. Kissing goes by favour; so in olden times did land. One Baldwin, whose aliases are confusing, secured no fewer than a hundred-and-eight manors at the Conquest, and from these he selected Okehampton for his stronghold. A Norman castle was, therefore, reared here, in the very heart of his wide domains; but of the solid masonry which characterized the military architecture of the age, there are now no remains. The site is there, and some two miles distant the low Norman tower of Belston church indicates what the castle was like, for both were the erections of the same body of masons. The present ruins consist of a small keep which time and nature have touched into beauty, belonging to the Perpendicular or Decorated period; remains of the great hall with its huge chimney, and

a suite of chambers together with part of a chapel, with piscina and a recess, which was probably used as an oratory. The group together forms an interesting and pleasing picture.

The Castle of Richard de Rivers, of which the ruins may still be seen at Tiverton, was on the north side of the town. At present it consists of the remains of the great gateway together with portions of the walls and towers covered with nature's own garb of lichen and ivy. It was dismantled by Fairfax in 1645, having been erected about 1100. During the reign of Edward sundry additions were made, some portions of which still remain, in striking contrast to the fine twelfth-century gateway. "Tiverton Castle," says Mr. Worth, "has borne its share in the history of Devon, though not as prominently as its importance would suggest. It had part in the wars of Stephen, and was of some little note in those of the Roses, as a Lancastrian, and afterwards as a Yorkist stronghold. In after years it was the place where the Courtenays lived in their greatest splendour. It stood a siege, moreover, in the wars of the Commonwealth."

To the same Richard belonged also the castle at Plympton. He was Earl of Devon in the reign of Henry I., and it is probable that the original structure was either wholly, or in part, erected during his life-time. At the present time the earthworks are still in good preservation, while the ruins of plain Norman masonry include a circular keep rising at the east end of the base court. Cavities occur in the walls shewing where the wood-work, used in supporting the stone-work, was formerly inserted.

Plympton Castle only once figured in history, and then its fall was so ignominious that it has never again recovered from the blow. It was remarkable for the brevity of its career. Erected, as we surmise, during the reign of Henry (1100-1135) it was, during the reign of Stephen, practically destroyed. Baldwin, the son of Richard, its founder, took up the cause of Mathilda against Stephen. Though the garrison surrendered without striking a blow, the castle was dismantled, and its glory departed. Though it was soon afterwards restored, and formed the centre of some skirmishing during the reign of John, the only other event of interest associated with it was the siege of Plymouth, when it was

made the head-quarters of Prince Maurice. In 1644 it was taken by the Earl of Essex, and, after sundry vicissitudes, became the property of the Earls of Morley. The site is surrounded by a moat which is used as a promenade. "The antiquary may speculate on a singular hollow, which runs through the wall of the keep, and may remind him of those in the Scottish 'duns,' or Pictish towers, while the lover of the picturesque will take in the beautiful prospect which the eminence affords of the surrounding district. A similar promenade may be made on the ramparts of the Citadel at Plymouth. Beware, however, of the firing of the guns. My umbrella was once ripped into shreds by being held open during a salute.

About the beginning of the thirteenth century, a castle was erected by Lord Briwere at Axminster. Though some foundations have been discovered during excavations, which seem to belong to the building, no other trace of it is now to be seen. At Hemyock, however, some important ruins, including the grassy moat, the main gateway, and the ivy clad towers of a castle, erected by the Hidons, may be seen. It belongs to the time of the early Edwards, and was at one period a place

of great strength. It was in use during the Civil wars, was taken in 1642, and dismantled shortly afterwards by Cromwell. Of its earlier history little is known, but the angler, the antiquary, and the artist, will alike find pleasure in a visit to the Vale of Hemyock.

Earthworks also exist at Denbury, Cadbury, Dolbury, and elsewhere, concerning which, as already stated, there are local rhymes which indicate a former connection with royal Danes. The Christmas of 1645 was rendered memorable for Cadbury by Fairfax, who made this place his rendezvous. Remains of a castle built by the Mariscos may be seen on Lundy Island, and Torrington has its Castle Hill. A castle existed here in the thirteenth century, which the Sheriff of Devon was instructed to demolish. In 1340 it was rebuilt by Robert de Merton, but during the Civil Wars the church played the part of a citadel. The remains of an Edwardian Castle may also be seen at Gidleigh, erected during the time when the manor was held by a family known as Prouz.

There remains but one other ruin to which I need refer. Everyone versed in Devonshire lore has heard of Lydford Law. At Lydford

a castle has existed from Norman times. In 1216 it was granted to William, Lord Briwere, who already owned Axminster, and was a trusty servant to King John. At the beginning of the fourteenth century it figures as a prison, in connection with the famous Stannaries; and at a later time, as appears from some notes by Dr. James Yonge, it was again employed as a jail. Lydford, he says is a "small town where is an old castle, which, in the late rebellion, was made a prison, but a sad one, God wott; many men perishing there. The people are rude, and ill-bred. Formerly it was a borough, sent members to Parliament, and kept court; but after such a prejudicial way, as it became a saying—Like Lydford law, hang first and judge him afterwards."

The building, as Mr. Worth has pointed out, is a true keep, quite unlike the shell keeps of Totnes and Plympton. It probably dates from the latter part of the twelfth century, and together with the castles at Okehampton, Plympton and Totnes, formed a link in the chain of border fortresses by which the road skirting Dartmoor was commanded. Few buildings in Devonshire have had a more eventful history, or

one which has extended over a longer period. That history has been carefully traced by Mr. Worth, and may be found in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association.

Churches as Garrisons.

WHETHER by choice or of necessity, the church has frequently been called upon to play an important part as a place of refuge and defence in time of war. It is not my purpose here to show to what extent the church tower may have been originally intended as a military stronghold. There are clear indications, in many instances, of militant ideas in the structure of our ecclesiastical edifices ; but I shall here confine myself to historical events, and chiefly those which relate to the civil wars. During this period of sad unrest, when brother fought with brother, and every man's hand was against his neighbour, those places which were unprotected by a castle or fortress would have been in a terrible plight but for the strong walls and towers of the parish church. Hither, in many cases, the women, children, and cattle were driven for security ; while, in many instances, the soldiers on one side or the other made the tower their bulwark against the foe, or the prison in which they confined their captives.

There formerly stood in the parish of Dawlish a pre-Norman church which was evidently built in part as a protection against the Danes, but this most interesting relic of antiquity has, sad to say, been destroyed. Our first illustration shall therefore be drawn from the neighbouring parish of Powderham. Though there was a castle here this did not prevent the church being used during the period of strife, to which I have already alluded. Indeed, the presence of the castle on the one hand, affording a ready retreat for the Parliamentarians, led to the garrisoning of the church by their foes. Hence it was that this Perpendicular building with its aisles continued to the east end so as to form a triple chancel, became the scene of strife and warfare, and was occupied by the Roundheads.

The famous church of Ottery St. Mary, a miniature Exeter Cathedral, was during the same year 1645 occupied during a period of five weeks by the Parliamentary troops, and they would probably have remained in possession much longer had not the pestilence issued its stern instructions to "move on!" Oliver Cromwell visited the town, so we are told, with a view to raising troops and money, but as he failed in his

endeavour, he gave license to his iconoclastic followers, who ruthlessly decapitated a number of the figures on the historic old monuments. The middle of the seventeenth century was therefore for Ottery a time of great trouble, and the vandalism of the age has left its marks till our own day.

Scant reverence for sacred buildings had been entertained ever since the days of the bluff king, Henry the VIIIth. He had in 1548 sent an angry letter to the Mayor of Plymouth, and his brethren in office, in which he expresses his surprise and displeasure because they delayed the fortifying of St. Michael's Chapel, so as to make it a bulwark against invaders, when such a simple means of keeping foes at bay may secure them. If St. Michael's was not profaned St. Andrew's was. This, the mother church of Plymouth dates from the twelfth century, and now consists of chancel, nave, aisles, transepts, and tower at the west end erected about 1460. In 1549, the rebels who sought to restore Romanism, made an attack upon the town, and, though they were beaten off with a considerable loss, they managed to inflict upon the church and town an irreparable injury. The scanty records of the event inform us that

the steeple was then burnt "with all the townes evydence in the same." Then it was that the greater portion of the muniments of the borough of Plymouth was destroyed.

A more humiliating desecration was witnessed in connection with the same event at St. Thomas' Church, in Exeter. The vicar, who had been very active during the rebellion, was hanged on the tower of his own church in full canonicals, and there his body was allowed to remain until Mary came to the throne. He who had died a rebel was then regarded as a martyr, and his remains were removed from the scaffold to the tomb. Such facts as these, while they fill the mind with disgust and pain, preserve for us a wonderfully helpful key to the study of the moral and religious life of that eventful age.

The story of this anti-protestant vicar is full of interest for more reasons than one. His portrait has been drawn for us by a Devonshire writer in the following brief lines. "This man had many good things in him. He was of no great stature, but well-set and mightily compact. He was a very good wrestler; shot well, both in the long-bow and also in the cross-bow; he handled his hand-gun and piece very well; he was a very

good woodman and a hardy, and such an one as would not give his head for the polling, nor his beard for the washing. He was a companion in any exercises of activity, and of a courteous and gentle behaviour."

His gentleness, however, did not save him. Sir Walter Scott was acquainted with this man's biography. The notes appended to *Marmion* may be profitably read in connection with this chapter, and among them will be found the foregoing. Scott's biographer has even suggested that the "Friar Tuck," or Clerk of Copmanhurst, who figures so bravely in *Ivanhoe*, is in part a reproduction of Welsh of Exeter. We learn from Holinshed that when the rebel priest was hung in chains on his church tower, he was surrounded by "a holy-water bucket and sprinkle, a sacring bell, a pair of beads, and such other like popish trash." Amid it all, however, he very patiently took his death, and thus showed himself worthy to find rank in the noble army of martyrs.

Another of the towns which was considerably harried during the Civil Wars was Axminster. Its church was originally a very fine building, and even now its Norman doorway, its Decorated nave and chancel with sedilia and piscina are

worthy attention. Its oaken pulpit dates from 1633, but eleven years before the royal garrison was placed here under Sir Richard Cholmondeley. It appears that the church on this occasion was too great a strength for the attacking party. In November, 1644, Sir Richard was succeeded by Major Walker, who, during an attack on Lyme Regis, was killed with many of his followers. The remnant of the Cavaliers, we are told, were chased into the church of St. Mary, at Axminster, where they were able to defy their pursuers.

As at Powderham, so at Tiverton, the castle and church were both occupied, but by the same party, and not by the opposing forces. "Tiverton town leant strongly to the Parliament, but the castle was garrisoned for the king, the church being also occupied as an important outpost. In October, 1645, General Massey was detached by Fairfax to beseige the works, which were then under the command of Sir Gilbert Talbot. After battering awhile, the castle and church were taken by storm on Sunday the 19th with much slaughter." The church, which is dedicated to St. Peter, has an embattled tower 116 feet in height. It presents numerous features of interest, including the altar-piece, screen, sculptures, and brasses. It was at

one time bestowed upon the Cluniac monks of St. Martin, near Paris.

The results of this occupation of the Church were disastrous from the standpoint of the antiquary. During the assault, the monuments of the famous Courtenays were destroyed, together with the chapel, which contained them. One of these had royal associations, being to the memory of Catherine, daughter of Edward the Fourth, and wife of William Courtenay, Earl of Devon. Another to the third Earl of Devon, commonly known as the blind and good earl, is remarkable on account of its epitaph, given in another connexion. The former of these links the church of Tiverton with that of Colyton, where in the fine old church of St. Andrews, we may find the curious memorial known as the Little Choky Bone Monument.

A similiar interest attaches to the Church and Churchyard of St. Budeaux, in the neighbourhood of Plymouth. Fortified by the Royalists in 1646, they were stormed by the Roundheads and carried. Standing like a beacon on the coast near here is Revelstoke Church, which, if it is not so closely associated with the Civil Wars, yet seems to be intimately connected with revelry and warfare.

Writers who are versed in local lore say that Wembury means the fort or bury of the Viking, and like Revelstoke commemorates a battle, or a series of skirmishes with the Danes. "Moreover the situation of the respective churches close to the water's edge seems to have in it something of a commemorative character," says Mr. Worth. At a short distance to the west of Dartmouth may be seen the little known church of St. Clement, Townstall, with a tower 70 feet high. This was fortified by the Royalists with 10 guns and defended by 100 men. We may presume that others, besides Welsh, the Vicar of St. Thomas, took sides, and we have an amusing illustration in later days of the way in which history repeats itself. When, early in the present century, it was anticipated that Napoleon would invade England by way of Torbay, the able-bodied men of Torquay were invited "to meet the Clergyman at the church to consider how they could render the greatest assistance to their neighbours and country." In the olden times a good deal of military blood flowed in ecclesiastical veins, and even bishops were by no means loth to lead an army to battle.

For the proceedings of Fairfax in Devonshire during this troublesome period of the Civil Wars,

we are indebted to his chaplain, Joshua Sprigge. Mr. King has summarized a portion of his narrative as follows. "The house of Great Fulford, with its picturesque park, and noble beech avenues, was among the first to surrender, and was placed under the command of Colonel Okey, the regicide. Before advancing to Ashburton, near which town the chief remaining strength of the Royalists was collected, Fairfax reviewed his troops within the area of the ancient camp of Cadbury, on a lofty hill commanding the windings of the Exe—a gathering which, with all its accompaniments, may safely be commended to any historical painter in quest of a picturesque subject. Ashburton—where the house in which Fairfax lodged is still pointed out—speedily fell; and during the skirmishes which took place in its immediate neighbourhood Cromwell appeared on the scene, visiting Devonshire for the first and only time. He fell suddenly upon Wentworth's brigade at Bovey Tracey, disturbing the officers at cards, as Puritan scandal-mongers delight to repeat, and compelling them to beat a hasty retreat to Ilsington, the manor and birthplace of Ford the dramatist, where they garrisoned themselves in the church." The whole of this district

teems with interest. Perhaps, however, it will suffice if I give the account of the capture of Torrington, in 1646, as typical of the kind of work which was carried on elsewhere. It is taken from a letter written by John Rushworth to the Speaker of the House of Commons, which finds a place in the Sixth Report of the Commission appointed to examine the great Historical Manuscripts of the Nation. Writing from Torrington, February, 17th, 1646, he says, "On Saturday, the 14th, we marched from Crediton to Chimleigh, ten miles; the day very rainy, and the ways deep. On Sunday we marched two miles, when we had intelligence that Lord Hopton was at Torrington; and hearing that there was a troop of horse at Burrington, the General sent a party against them, who routed them, and brought Lieutenant-Colonel Dundashe prisoner, mortally wounded to King's Ash [now Ash-Reigny.] . . . . February the 16th, the General, with his forces, joining those that had gone on to King's Ash, drew up his army in battalia on the Moor, within five miles of Torrington, and then advanced towards the town. After some skirmishing, a party was sent against Squire Roll's house, which the enemy quitted without resistance. After some further skirmishing . . .

we forced the enemy into the town, whereupon the horse were sent in, and charged the enemy in the streets, and after hard fighting drove them out of the barricades at the further side of the town. Many prisoners were taken *and put into the church*, but many threw away their arms and escaped in the darkness. No sooner were we possessed of the town, than the enemy's magazine, about eighty barrels of powder, *which were in the church*, blew up; whether fired by accident or on purpose we cannot yet learn. Many of the prisoners were killed, many houses defaced, and the whole town shaken. Some of our men in the churchyard were killed, and two great pieces of lead fell within half a horse's length of the General. One whole barrel of powder was blown out into the street without taking fire. The enemy, seeing the explosion, made another charge under John Digby, brother to Lord Digby, but were repulsed by our musketeers; and our horse, instantly advancing, began the pursuit at eleven at night, and I hope will give a good account of the business."

There yet remains one other illustration of our subject, though it is not connected with Roundheads and Royalists. Some few miles off the coast of Devon lies the Isle of Lundy, in times

past the property of the Moriscos. The principal event in the history of the Island relates to its capture by a party of Frenchmen, during the reign of William and Mary. The method adopted reminds us of that resorted to for the destruction of Troy. The wooden horse, however, was changed into a coffin, and the plan was successful. "A ship of war, under Dutch colours, anchored in the roadstead, and sent ashore for some milk, pretending that the captain was sick. The islanders supplied the milk for several days, when at length the crew informed them that their captain was dead, and asked permission to bury him in consecrated ground. This was immediately granted, and the inhabitants assisted in carrying the coffin to the grave. It appeared to them rather heavy, but they, never for a moment, suspected the nature of its contents. The coffin, filled with arms and ammunition, was carried into the church, and the Frenchmen then requested the islanders to withdraw for a time while they performed the usual offices. They were informed that the opportunity to see the body interred would, in due course, be afforded them, and were not long kept in suspense. The doors were suddenly flung open, and the Frenchmen, armed

from the pretended receptacle of the dead, rushed with triumphant shouts upon the astonished inhabitants, and made them prisoners. Thus has the Church in various ways been made to play an important part in history.

Brasses, Monuments, and Epitaphs.

IN monuments of the altar tomb class, and in sepulchral brasses—"No untrustworthy guides to the ancient condition of a province," as Mr. King reminds us—Devonshire is far from deficient. They are scattered throughout the entire county, and frequently occur in remote churches, among the hills, or on the edge of the moorland, to which access is even now difficult, and where we should least expect to find such memorials of former prosperity. The antiquary learns, however, as he wanders from place to place among the churches, castles, and relics of a former age, that it is the unexpected which happens, and he comes to regard it almost as a matter of course that the most despised sanctuary and dishonoured shrine shall yield him some treasure or supply some key to a problem hitherto unsolved. He regards nothing as common or unclean. In the following notes no attempt will be made to observe either a strictly chronological or topographical order, the illustrations being brought together

rather with a view to the production of a pleasing narrative than a catalogue of antiquities.

An early visit should be paid to Axminster and the adjoining district. Not far away is the quiet little town of Colyton, a place of great antiquity, and one which has been from time immemorial associated with the best blood of the shire. In the parish we find the famous seat of the Courtenays, who, in 1280, built a castellated mansion here, still known as Colcombe. It ranks to-day amongst those famous farm-houses which render Devonshire so attractive. It is in the church at Colyton that we find the noble altar tomb with a canopy known as the Little Choky Bone. The recumbent figure represents a beautiful maiden wearing a coronet. The royal arms are associated with those of the house of Courtenay, and the inscription informs us that "Margaret, daughter of William Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and the Princess Katherine, youngest daughter of Edward IV., King of England, died at Colcombe, choked by a fish bone, A.D. MDXII." The church itself is a stately Perpendicular building, the octagonal tower of which forms a conspicuous landmark to all the country side. It contains, in addition to the tombs of Margaret Courtenay and

the Poles, a fine Corinthian monument to the memory of William Drake, of Yardbury, Colyton, and other members of the family by marriage. An arched recess contains three small effigies in a kneeling posture, representing William Westofer with his wife and daughter. A Latin inscription, dated 1622, accompanies the figures, and is thus rendered into English :—

In Memory of William Westofer.

"Reader, whoever thou mayst be, behold my tomb,
Where free from earthly pain my bones repose.
Close by behold three figures greet thine eye ;
The first mine own, the next my wife, the third my daughter dear.
Dust I am, such will my wife be, such my child.
Farewell ! live wife in Christ, my child live thou in God."

Referring again to the Courtenays, we may remark that Tiverton was formerly in their possession. One of the family was known as the good Earl, and a stately tomb erected to his memory in the church of the town bore the following inscription :—

"Hoe ! Hoe ! who lyes here ?
'Tis I, the goode Erle of Devonshere,
With Kate, my wyfe, to mee full deere.
That wee spent wee hadde,
That wee gave wee have,
That wee left wee lost."

The latter part is familiar to everyone who has collected grave-yard literature. "Kate, my wyfe," was the Princess Katherine, mother of Margaret Courtenay, and daughter of Edward IV., mentioned above.

The chief monumental storehouse in Devonshire is naturally to be found in Exeter; the Cathedral being the last resting-place of numerous bishops and notables, or the most fitting place for their memorials. That on the north side of the Lady Chapel, with effigy and canopy of alabaster, is to the memory of Bishop Stafford, who was for some time Lord Chancellor to Richard II. and Henry IV. In St. Gabriel's Chapel, on the south side, is an elegant monument to Bishop Bronescombe, who was in authority during the third quarter of the thirteenth century. It was under his direction that the earliest existing Bishops' register was begun. Though he died in 1280, his tomb is supposed to date from the reign of Edward III. The Decorated tomb of Bishop Stapledon, who was murdered in the reign of Edward II. by a mob in London, also merits attention. To this worthy of the first quarter of the fourteenth century we owe the elaborate sedilia on the south side of the sanctuary; while the best judges

also attribute to his taste and munificence the splendid episcopal throne with which the cathedral is adorned. He vaulted, and probably re-seated the choir in whole or part, glazed several windows, and made preparations by the purchase of a large quantity of materials for further improvements. What he could not personally perform, his successors, inspired by his enthusiasm and generosity, undertook; so that it has been affirmed that from 1300 to 1450 an average sum of £1,000 per annum was expended on the building. The amount seems incredible when we remember how much it represents in the money of to-day. Stapledon was the founder of a Hall at Oxford, which at first bore his name, but afterwards became known as Exeter College. The oldest monument is attributed to Bishop Warelwast, nephew of the Conqueror, and founder of the original Norman fabric, who is said to have resigned his office on account of blindness. The tomb of Bishop Marshall, who added the Lady Chapel, is in the choir; that of Bishop Quivil being in the Lady Chapel. To the latter is attributed the re-construction of the Cathedral on its present lines. At the west front will be found the tomb or monument of Bishop Grandison, who ruled during the middle

of the fourteenth century. He found the building still in progress, completed the nave, and, in 1369, dedicated the entire building to St. Peter. The effigy of an emaciated figure in a beautifully sculptured recess in the wall of the north aisle is popularly attributed to Bishop Lacy, who is said to have died of starvation by attempting a forty days' fast in Lent.

From Exeter we may naturally pass to the miniature rival at Ottery St. Mary, which was largely the work of the Bishop Grandison, who completed the Cathedral. Here we shall find the beautiful marble monument, with effigy supported by angels, of Lady Coleridge—the only Devonshire monument to be found in the whole of Cassell's elaborate work on the Cathedrals and Churches of England and Wales. In the same church are altar tombs on the north and south sides of the nave, and surrounded by huge and decorated canopies. They are said to commemorate a relative of the bishop, who died about 1360, and his wife—Sir Otho and Dame Grandison. A monument in the churchyard, erected by subscription, reminds us of Sir John Coleridge, who did so much for the beautifying and restoration of the edifice. There is nothing, however, either within

the church or elsewhere, to perpetuate the memory of the most famous son of this quiet country town, Samuel Taylor Coleridge. A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country.

The Drakes have left their mark in many places. In Musbury Church we find a monument with black-letter inscription which reads :—"Here lyeth the body of John Drake, of Ashe, Esq., and Amy his wife, daughter of Sir Roger Graynfield, Knight, by whom he had issue six sons, viz. : Barnard, Robert, and Richard, whereof lived three at his death. He died 4 Oct., 1558 ; she died 18 Feb., 1577." The allusion to six children is peculiar, but we must assume that the three unnamed passed away before reaching years of discretion, since the three named can be traced in later years. Barnard remained at Ashe in possession of the patrimony, rose to distinction, was knighted by Elizabeth in 1585, and died next year of gaol fever. His monument in Colyton Church bears the following inscription : "Heere is the monument of Sir Barnard Drake, Knight, who had to wife Dame Garthroyd, the daughter of Bartholomew Fortescue, of Filleigh, Esq., by whom he had three sons and three daughters, whereof were five living at his death ; viz. John,

Hugh, Margaret, Mary, and Ellen; he died 10 Ap., 1586, and Dame Garthroyd his wife was heere buried 12 Feb., 1601, unto the memory of whom John Drake, Esq., his son hath set this monument, A.D. 1611."

This Sir Barnard erected in Filleigh Church a memorial to his brother-in-law, Richard Fortescue. It consists of an effigy on a brass, representing an esquire with sword and spurs, and a complete suit of armour of the period, kneeling before a *pries dieu* on which a book lies open. The hands are uplifted in prayer, helmet and gauntlets lie in front, while underneath is the following quaint legend.

"Fforget who can yf that he lyft to see,
Ffortescue of Ffylleghte the seventh of that degree,
Remembrance of a frynde his brother Drake doth showe,
Presenting this unto the eyes of moo.
Hurtful to none, and fryndlye to the moste
The earth his bones, the heavens possesse his goste."

Colyton, Axminster, and Musbury Churches will be found to supply numerous other links in the chain of the Drake pedigree, to which it is not necessary to allude further in this connexion.

Among the epitaphs which are noted only for their humour or quaintness the following may be specially noticed. In the churchyard at Bideford we find a stone inscribed with these lines :—

"Here lies the body of Mary Sexton,
Who pleased many a man, but never vex'd one;
Not like the woman who lies under the next stone."

From Dartmouth we obtain the following:—

"Thomas Goldsmith, who died 1714.
He commanded the *Snap Dragon* as Privateer belonging to this port, in the reign of Queen Anne, in which vessel he turned pirate, and amassed much riches.

Men that are virtuous serve the Lord;
And the Devil's by his friends adored;
And as they merit get a place
Amidst the bless'd or hellish race;
Pray then, ye learned clergy, show
Where can this brute, Tom Goldsmith, go?
Whose life was one continued evil,
Striving to cheat God, man, and Devil."

The south aisle of St. Andrew's Church, Ashburton, contains a tablet with inscription to the memory of the first Lord Ashburton; but the curious will be more interested in the following examples of pathos and humour to be found elsewhere within the sacred enclosure. The first is the lament of one of Ashburton's scholarly sons over one whose loss he deeply mourned. Gifford thus utters his lament:—

"I wish I was where Anna lies,
For I am sick of lingering here;
And every hour affection cries,
'Go and partake her humble bier.'

I wish I could! For, when she died,
I lost my all; and life has proved,
Since that sad hour, a dreary void,
A waste, unlovely and unloved."

The other is humorous, and runs :—

"Here I lie, at the chancel door,
Here I lie, because I'm poor;
The farther in, the more you pay,
Here I lie as warm as they."

There are indications, however, that it was not altogether on the ground of poverty that the writer lay where he did. A similar inscription was formerly found on the stone of a man named Docton at Stoke St. Nectan.

A few miles from Barnstaple, on the road to South Moulton, is the church of Swimbridge, where we find an epitaph to an attorney of a dozen lines in length, which grimly puns upon the profession of the deceased. It commences :—

"Loe with a warrant seal'd by God's decree,
Death, his grim sergeant hath arrested me;"

and reminds one of the oft-quoted, but little to be admired, inscription to the memory of George Routleigh, watchmaker, of Lydford, whose outside case "here lies in horizontal position," etc.

These and similar specimens of sepulchral wit

may well be left for the study of other and more pleasing works. The visitor who can obtain permission to inspect the private chapel connected with Ugbrooke House will find, in the family vault underneath, a fine piece of statuary representing the women at the foot of the Cross. In front are placed candelabra which, when lighted, shew the inscriptions on the tablets ranging round the quiet burying-place. The most conspicuous is that which a recent Lord Clifford erected to the memory of his children, two of whom died in infancy.

One of the most interesting of all the effigies to be found in Devonshire, however, and one which is at the same time of very early date, is that of Sir Stephen de Haccombe, in the unique church of Haccombe, near Newton Abbot. It dates from the reign of Edward I., and is associated with "a high tomb which probably commemorates the Courtenay owners—Hugh, and Philippa his wife," together with a splendid series of brasses relating to the Carews. The earliest of these dates from 1469, and represents Sir Nicholas with time-worn features appearing from under the lifted visor of his salade. The student of arms and armour will know how much Boutell and other writers were indebted to such monumental records for the

correct and complete history of that branch of military science.

A writer in the *Antiquary* some years ago tells us that somewhere in the sixties he journeyed all through central and south Devon in search of brasses, of which he took rubbings, which were presented to a friend, and no record kept of their origin or whereabouts. He was anxious that someone should undertake the work again; since in these days of vandalism they might soon be beyond recovery. Fortunately, a better spirit has since then begun to work, and there is little danger to-day of any really valuable relic of the past being sacrilegiously destroyed. The antiquary will find in the church at Stoke Fleming, near Dartmouth, some of the oldest brasses in the county. One, of date 1361, is to John Corp, and another, twenty years later, to one Elyenore, who is supposed to be another member of the Corp family. Dartmouth itself contains the brasses of Sir John Hawley and his two wives (1403). They are found in the fine cruciform church of St. Saviour, consecrated by Bishop Brantingham, Sir John being represented in armour. He was a man of such unwonted success as a merchant that it was said—

"Blow the wind high, blow the wind low,
It bloweth aye fair to Hawley's Hoe."

Seven times mayor, he represented Dartmouth in Parliament during the greater part of the reign of Henry IV. The next in point of time is that of Sir Philip Courtenay, dated 1409.

Yealmpton contains one of the finest specimens of monumental brasses in the county. It commemorates Sir John Crocker, of Lyneham, cupbearer of Edward IV., who represented one of the oldest families in Devonshire, according to the well-known distich—

"Crocker, Cruwys and Coplestone,
When the Conqueror came were found at home."

In Coleridge Church is the figure of John Evans, as an armed knight, which is worth inspection. He died in 1514. The brass of Dame Elizabeth de Bigbury, powdered with scrolls, and bearing the words "IHU MERCY—LADY HELPE," is still preserved in the church at Bigbury, and dates from the fifteenth century. The church itself is dedicated to St. Lawrence, and contains, besides the brass, a well-carved pulpit, once the property of Ashburton, and an old font. The Strachleigh brass is one of the features of Ermington Church, another being the original altar,

enclosed by a balustrade, and set table-wise, as required at the Reformation, so that the people might have it fully in view.

Coming down to the sixteenth century we find a brass to "John and Jane Greenway (1529) on the floor of their fine chapel at Tiverton—the merchant with his furred robe, his purse, and ink-horn, the lady with her chatelaine and pomander ball," articles of dress and ornament with which the present age has little acquaintance. In the church at Morthoe, some distance from Ilfracombe, is a curious old tomb which Camden attributed to William de Tracy, one of the murderers of Thomas à Becket. Two sufficient reasons exist, however, for disputing this conclusion. In the first place the figure is represented as holding a chalice in the right hand, a tolerably clear indication that a priest is intended. In the next place the memorial is a brass. Now, since the murder of Becket took place before the close of the twelfth century—the 29th December, 1170—and we have no brasses in Devonshire which can be with certainty assigned to an earlier date than the fourteenth century, it is evident that Camden's theory must be given up. Two brasses of later date may be noticed. In Hartland Abbey Church,

dedicated to St. Nectan, together with a Norman font of unusual design, a carved pulpit of black oak, and a superb screen, we find an old stone in the pavement dated 1055 (ten years before the Conquest, if the figures be genuine), a monument erected in 1610 to the right of the East window, and a brass to Anne Abbott, 1611. The other is of special interest as having been erected to the memory of Flavel, the famous Puritan divine and preacher, who died in 1691. The Corporation of Dartmouth ordered its removal from St. Saviour's Church in 1709, and it may now be seen with its curious inscription in the Independent Chapel of that town.

Without multiplying illustrations, I may fitly close this brief study by quoting a few interesting sentences from the able article on Devonshire which the late Mr. King supplied to the *Quarterly Review*, of April, 1859, and reprinted in his valuable "Sketches and Studies":—"In Crediton Church [where King himself now lies] is an effigy, supposed to be that of Sir John Sully, a venerable warrior, who was present at the fight of Halidon Hill, at the siege of Berwick, at the Battles of Cressy, Najara, and Poictiers, and who, at the age of 105, gave his evidence on

what is known to heralds as the "Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy." Altar-tombs and effigies, however, are not so numerous in Devonshire as brasses, of which, although they have not escaped the usual fate of such memorials, many of them, perhaps the finest having been either removed or destroyed, a sufficient number remain, ranging from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, to afford a series of very high value and interest. There are none indeed which can rival the best of those in the Eastern and Southern counties, where French and Flemish artists were frequently employed; but the work of those in Devonshire is generally good, their details graceful, and with some few exceptions, they maintain their position as works of art till the end of the sixteenth century."

After supplying sundry illustrations, all of which have been included in the foregoing list he adds that these, together with that of "Thomas Williams (1566), in Harford Church, who died, Speaker of the House of Commons, and who, as we are startled at learning from the inscription at his head,

"Now in heaven with mighty Jove doth raine,"

sufficiently prove that there is no want of variety

among the Devonshire specimens. Armour and civilian costume, the changeful fashions of ladies' robes, and the still more surprising vagaries of their head-dresses—heart-shaped, horned, butterfly-shaped, diamond-shaped—may be duly studied in these enduring pages; which prove to us, in conjunction with the statelier recumbent effigies, that the county was, from a very earlier period, covered by a numerous body of small proprietors of gentle descent, and entitled to bear arms, such as still forms one of its characteristic features. The constant changes and fluctuations of these families and their lands are not less distinctly indicated.

"Hunc mei, nunc hujus, post mortem nescio cujus.'

Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Registers.

THIS mine of antiquarian wealth has hitherto been but scantily worked in comparison with the immense amount of material which yet remains unpublished and unexplored in Devonshire. I shall not attempt to cover anything like the whole county, but shall content myself with giving some typical specimens of the kind of information which may be obtained from this invaluable source. It may be well to commence with a few notes of a historical and chronological character. I have stated elsewhere that the earliest extant Bishops' Register for the See of Exeter dates from the time of Bronescombe, who was in the bishopstool from 1258 to 1280. Exeter, indeed, as Mr. Worth reminds us, is rich in the matter of local records. "At the fine old Guildhall in the High Street, which dates from 1466, are the municipal archives, extending back to the thirteenth century, arranged and calendared by Mr. Stuart Moore, who did the same for the

muniments of the Dean and Chapter. Among the chief treasures of the latter the chiefest is the volume kown as the 'Exon Domesday;' but there are still several relics of the library given by Leofric to his minster, though his Missal and several other works have found their way to the Bodleian," despite the curse which was to fall upon him who should remove them from Exeter —a curse which reminds us of that which should rest on the would be disturber of Shakspere's bones.

The student is fortunate in having, among other things, a most excellent series of papers relating to St. Petrock's Parish, in the Cathedral city, ably digested and annotated by an admirable editor in the person of Mr. Dymond. They include "a series of churchwardens' accounts believed to be unrivalled for antiquity and continuity. For the 165 years extending from 1425 to 1590 there are but few lapses, and these usually but for a single year." Then half-a-century before they cease there is an unbroken overlapping of records owing to the fact that the "registers of christenings, weddings, and burials, are continuous from the year 1538, when Thomas Cromwell issued the first order for keeping

records of these events." Further we have the records of the Feoffees, the oldest document among which was one of the year 1270, of which a copy was made on parchment, perhaps by the historian Hoker in the reign of Elizabeth.

Next in interest and value to the foregoing, perhaps, is the *Transcript of the Parish Expenditure of Milton Abbot, for the year 1588*, first published at the beginning of this century, and re-edited with valuable notes and comments in 1879 by no less able an authority than Mr. Pengelly. The Register of Births and Deaths for this parish dates from 1653. Without going further into detail it will be seen that, with such aids as the foregoing, and the many reprints of, or excerpts from, ancient registers, accounts, and records which are to be found in almost every volume dealing with matters of an archæological or antiquarian nature, the student has a perfect treasure-house of invaluable material at his disposal, and only needs patience, discretion, and a ready pen to enable him to compile a useful and entertaining chapter.

What a flood of light do they throw upon old-time usages and customs! And how dense do they make our ignorance of the past appear

from time to time, as for example when they speak of "gayle money" and "finding of sheepe," or "Peter's farthynges" and "the fifty dole." It is by means of such records as these that we are able to get behind such interesting problems, for example, as the poor law, the military system, the methods adopted for punishing offenders, or of raising a church rate. Through them also are we able to trace to their source some of the few peculiar customs still observed in out-of-the-way places, the origin and meaning of which would otherwise be obscure. Specially valuable are some of these records for the clear light they throw upon the pre-Reformation church and its peculiar usages. Let us look a little more closely at a few typical instances.

PILLORY AND PUNISHMENT.

"As offences against the criminal or commercial laws were dealt with by the municipal authorities, we meet with no mention in these accounts of the pillory, stocks, or other instruments of punishment," says Mr. Dymond, when dealing with the records of St. Petrock's Parish, Exeter. Here we see at once that a difference existed in Devonshire between town and country life and

law. For in the village records we read under date 1588 that there was paid to Wm. Byrch—a man who may have received his surname from his honourable office as bearer of the rod—"for makinge up of the cuckinge-stole, and for mending the pillory, vd." The Cucking or Ducking-stool needs no description, since every book dealing with old-time punishments has made us familiar with its appearance and use. A few illustrations of its employment in Devonshire in the past may, however, be adduced in illustration of the foregoing quotation. Near Membury, for example, where was formerly a British Camp, we find a bridge over the river Axe, now known as the Stonybridge. Formerly it was called Ducking-stool bridge from its having been the scene of numerous exciting episodes in the lives of the village scolds. On the last occasion of its use, however, so say the gossips, the tables were turned, and the scold was a male. A man by the name of Butcher having endeavoured to convince his wife against her will by the use of the rod, was set upon by the indignant females of the place, who successfully cooled his courage by giving him a dip in the river.

Similarly as you glide softly down the beautiful

it was thereupon ordered that the pillory and tumbrel be deposed, destroyed, and removed, and that no court should be held by Derneford in future to interfere with the action of the Abbot or his bailiffs.

In some instances it would appear that the lord of the manor was required to provide and keep these instruments in repair at his own expense. Thus we are told by an early writer on Devonshire that the manor of Daccombe, which, curiously enough, belonged to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, had the custom of free bench, and "the lord was obliged to keep a cucking-stool for the use of scolding women." It will thus be seen that Devonshire was not behind the rest of the world in the matter of taming scolds.

We learn from these records that the law relating to the Wearing of Hats affected this remote part of the country, and what is more, that the parish, and not the individual offender against the law, paid the fine. Are we to infer from this that encouragement was given to the parishioners to transgress? Here is the entry for Milton Abbot. "To John Cragge for the fyne of wearinge of hats this yeare (1588), xii$^{d.}$" Did the authorities pay a penny a month to be free to do as they

pleased? And if so, was John Cragge authorized to compound with them on these easy terms, and so save the dignity of the law, and furnish its purse with an easily-gotten gain? From the accounts, we learn that John Cragge was not an official sent from without, but a man of the parish. We have, however, no information on the questions which are suggested. We know that an Act was passed in 1571 to the following effect:—

> "Every person above the age of seven years shall wear upon the Sabbath and Holiday (unless in the time of their Travels out of their Towns, Hamlets, etc.,) upon their head, a cap of Wool, knit, thicked, and dressed in England, made within this Realm, and only dressed and finished by some of the Trade of Cappers, upon Pain to forfeit for every Day not wearing, Three shillings and fourpence; except Maids, Ladies, Gentlewomen, Noble Personages; and every Lad, Knight and Gentleman of twenty Marks land, and their Heirs, and such as have born office of worship in any City, Borough, Town, Hamlet, or Shire."

Into the many interesting subjects relating to legislation for the furtherance of home industries suggested by such references as these it is not possible now to enter, though the temptation is great. It will suffice to cull from other Devonshire records one or two further entries by way of substantiating what has already

been advanced. The Churchwardens' Accounts for the parish of Woodbury contain the following:—

"Mich^{s} 1576 to Mich^{s} 1577. Paid to the Commissioners for wearing of hattes, 12s," which, we presume, is a brief way of saying—"for non-observance of the law relating thereto"—though our ignorance of the usage makes it very difficult to construe the meaning. Again we read:—

"Mich^{s} 1577 to Mich^{s} 1578. To Gregory Stokes, as concerning hattes, 18d." The inequality of the amounts, and the fact that 3s. 4d. *per diem* was to be the fine, makes the subject intensely curious, and shews us how little effect such legislation really had upon the people.

CHURCH LORE.

An Epitaph quoted elsewhere suggests that the price paid for burial depended upon the situation—"The further in the more you pay!" The following records throw some light on the subject of interments and the usage respecting fees. The churchwardens receive "for the grave of Alice Whytbourne, decessid, late the wyfe of Robert Whytbourne, iij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$, of Philip Egbeare, for the grave of Johan Egbeare, his

late wyfe, decessid, iij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$" at Milton Abbot; while at Ashburton similarly is paid "vi$^{s.}$ viij^{d} for the burial of John Dolbear senr., and Johanna his wyfe." Here also we find under date 1529-30 an entry for "x^{s} for burials of several persons in the church." The accounts show that it is not ten shillings for each several or separate interment, so we may assume that there were three interments at the usual fee of three and fourpence. But a few years later we find that there is received from Robert Pridyeux for the burial of his son, vi$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$, a double fee, suggesting that he was "further in," whereas the entry "xi^{s} for burial of Elizabeth Knoll and 3 others" in 1574 suggests that one or other of them had to be content with a shilling seat or sepulchre.

Very valuable as I have said, are some of these documents, for the light they throw on Church usages in the days which proceeded the Reformation. Take, for example, a few items from a Church Inventory made in the days of the famous Myles Coverdale. It contains the following among other entries:

Item—j sute of crymsyn velvet w^{t} thappurtenances and j cope of y^{e} same.

Item—j sute of white damask w^{t} thappurtances.

Item—j olde cope of new silk.
Item—j pall of silk dornyx.
Item—ij alta clothes j of playne lynne ye o'r of diaper.
Item—ij quissions j of purple velvet ye o'r of check.
Item—j fayre pall of blak velvet wt a rood-crosse.
Item—j fount cloth of silk.
Item—iiij towels j of diaper, iij of playne lynne.
Item—j old pall yt lieth on ye table," &c.

What essays your church antiquary and historian could write on such entries as these. But if the vestments and draperies are interesting, with their silk, damask, and diaper, in blew, blak, crymsyn, and purple, much more so are the goods and ornaments made of other materials such as silver and gold. Among these, St. Petrock's Church, Exeter, possessed in the fifteenth century—

"In primis—A box of gold with a berell to bere the Sacrament.
Item—A cross of silver ygylt wt Mary and John wt a socket of the same.
Item—iiij chalys ygylt; ij chalys part gylt.
Item—iiij cruetts of silver part gylt.
Item—A cence part gylt.
Item—A ship of silver part gylt with ij sponys of silver,"

and the like.

When we read that a royal patron of the church in former times showed his loyalty and affection by presenting a silver or golden vessel or ship to the sanctuary, we must understand, not a full-

rigged man-of-war, but a representation of a ship for use in the ritual. Into such ships "of silver part ygilt" or "parcell gilt," as later records have it, the frankincense was placed, while the cruetts were for holding the water and wine for the Holy Communion.

Among our Devonshire churches we do not find to-day many traces of the old hour-glass attached to the pulpit. At Pilton, a short distance from Barnstaple, the old pulpit was formerly adorned with a stand for the hour-glass in the shape of a man's arm. We have evidence of the existence of this curious piece of church furniture elsewhere, however, in the accounts. Thus, in 1616, eighteenpence was paid "To Garratt the joiner for a new case for the hour-glass" of a city church, while in 1648, eightpence was paid "for a half-hour glass." Surely a change was even then beginning to manifest itself, when the length of a discourse must be curtailed by one half. Had the people already itching ears, or were the preachers dry?

The Devonian was equal to the rest of the country in the matter of church decorations, and would pay annually "For roasemary and baye to be put aboute the church at Christide and Easter,

ijs.," or "For bayes and flowers in the church, ijs.," or "Flowers and herbs for the church, js."

If the accounts are faithful to the loyal, they are not less faithful to the vandal and iconoclast. We read with a sigh that fifteenpence should be thrown away on the "washyng awaye of images and for whyt lymyng of the same," for we know that many a precious fresco and painting was thus obliterated, to our present and perpetual loss. We can hardly endorse the expressions of a recent writer on art who, referring to the Reformation, says that the loss of the illustrations and illuminations which adorned the church walls and missals was but a trifling matter. They were far from being perfect as works of art, but as links in the chain of history they were invaluable.

In many of our old parish churches may still be found the oaken chests which Thomas Cromwell ordered each parish to find in 1538, for the safe custody of the registers of weddings, baptisms, and burials. These were the predecessors of the iron chest, and coffer with three locks and keys which were required by an act of George III., and are often alluded to in old deeds.

Among the church goods will be found:—

"Item:—A creyn casket for the evydences of

the church lokkyd wt ij lokkys," while for making "a chest and genys and lache" we find the modest sum of 3s. 4d. Two locks were required so that the safe custody of the documents might be shared by the incumbent and churchwardens. The older and more massive chests which we often find in parish churches, however, are frequently secured by a set of three locks, while their timbers bristle all over with iron bands and nails.

We here get a clue to the fees for, and the indispensable custom of consecrating church goods. Thus in 1511 the sum of 4d. is paid for dedicating a chalice. The amount is so small that we presume it would be carried to the Palace for the purpose, as we can scarcely think a high dignitary of the church would journey to the sanctuary, however near at hand it might be, and conduct a consecration service for so small a sum. The following entry in this connection is curious. "P' altacoe' die didicacois ecclie, iijs. iiijd." The fee is orthodox, but what of the ceremony? When his lordship visited the church for the purpose of dedicating the bells he received the sum of xiijs. iiijd., an amount which suggests four bells at the orthodox iijs. iiijd. apiece.

How curious it is to find among the accounts of

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the Haywarden the entry, "Receyvyd in money getheryd about the parish for to buy breade and wyne for the Holy Communion, vi^{s} x^{d}." It is well known that in former times the partaking of the Sacrament was not optional, but compulsory, and we find that even when this sum had been collected there was a considerable deficit, for in the year's expenses we read that there was "paide for bread and wyne for the Holy Communion this yere xiiijs. viijd." The most curious part of the business, however, is the fact that the money passed through the hands of such an official as the Haywarden.

MILITARY LORE.

The year which was rendered memorable by the arrival of the Spanish Armada is marked by a considerable flutter among the villages of Devon, and we read that in one place a sum of v^{s} was spent on "scouringe of the parish harnis," while two shillings went "for a coppye of the mousterbooke, containing a list of men for fighting, and ijl. xviijs. viijd. for trayninge the souldiers," together with other kindred items. Helmets, swords and other "harnis" had been neglected, and the soldiers had allowed themselves to get as rusty as their arms. Hence the need for this

outlay. Thus we find abundant variety in the information supplied, and this not limited either to subjects of a legal, parochial, or ecclesiastical nature.

Among Judas candles and hearses, font tapers and autercloths, springles and buckets for holy water, thuribles and censers, rood lofts and gradales, sepulchres and organs, clocks and chimes, one knows not where to begin, or where to end. Information respecting these, and a hundred other subjects of the deepest interest to the antiquary, are to be found among our records, a few of which will receive elucidation in another connexion. For the rest we must refer the reader to the various volumes devoted to Devonshire Antiquities from which our gleanings have been made, assuring him that he will find his researches increasingly fascinating and profitable the further he delves below the surface. If many subjects are easily intelligible, others demand patient and wide research, and there is yet room among these old-world sheepskins for a versatile and enthusiastic student to roam in search of hints which will elucidate some of the problems still connected with the parochial and ecclesiastical life of the past.

Curious Tenures and Peculiar Grants.

THE antiquary has always found the study of early tenures and grants a pleasing theme. It throws much light upon character. The mess of pottage is frequently met with even in England, and men have sold their birthright as cheaply as Esau did. If we have not the literal counterpart of that well-known biblical event, we see the same principle underlying many of the old grants which are to be met with among our early documents; and in some instances the peculiar tenures of Norman and Early English times have lingered till the present century, or may even be found potent to-day. The love of the chase, and the anxiety to have a good meal with plenty of sport, shews itself again and again in the acts of some of our Norman and Plantagenet kings. What kings delighted in their lords would be sure to favour, and so we shall find example contagious through the different ranks down to the lowest. Priest follows prince, and is followed by his people; while the knight follows the king, and in turn is

imitated by the knave. Dr. James Yonge, whose autobiography, written towards the end of the 17th century, contains some very striking comments on men and things, tells us that "Paignton was anciently a borough town, and, as is said, held her charter by a white-pot, which was to be seven years making, seven years baking, and seven years eating." On this account, says he, Devonshire men are known as white-pots! As white-pot is a dish which few have tasted, and fewer still can make, we may say that it is a compound of cream, sugar, rice, currants, cinnamon, and sundry other ingredients, and along with white ale, was formerly much indulged in by the Devonshire epicure. Now the statement of Yonge rests only on an *ipse dixit*, but it is easy to see the mess of pottage in the arrangement, or the underlying principle. He who bestows the charter simply barters that for seven years consecutively he shall be supplied with white-pot. Doubtless the wiseacre foresaw that his gastronomic organs would have done full justice to white-pot in seven years, and would then be ready to turn to white-bait, or some other similar delicacy. I see every reason to believe that what is regarded as an absurd tradition is "founded on facts."

A similar regard for the appetite affected the ancient manor of Chudleigh. Ages ago, as an appendage of the See of Exeter, it was under the necessity of providing twelve wood-cocks to grace the table of my lord bishop on the day of his election. Should the birds in question not be forthcoming, a fee of twelve pence was required in lieu thereof, showing that in those days a wood-cock was valued at a penny. Both the cock and the penny have since then greatly altered in value. The neighbouring town of Moreton Hampstead was formerly a royal manor. Domesday shews that it had belonged to Harold, and received from the hundred of Teignbridge the third penny. When it came into the hands of Edward I., he granted it to the Earl of Ulster, on condition that he provided a sparrow-hawk for the king's pleasure. A passage from Cole's MS. in the British Museum will throw some light on this subject.

"Farms took their names from the Saxon *fermian*, meaning to feed or yield victuals, as Gervasius Tilberiensis says, that until the time of King Henry I. the Kings of England used not to receive money of their lands, but victuals for the provision of the horses, payment of the soldiers,

and the like. Money was, however, obtained from cities and castles, where there was no tillage or husbandry. But when the king, being in foreign countries, needed ready money towards the furniture of the wars, and his subjects and farmers complained that they were grievously troubled by carriage of victuals into sundry parts of the realm far distant from their dwelling houses, the king directed commissions to certain discreet persons, who, having regard to the value of those victuals, should reduce them to reasonable sums of money."

Similar customs to that of paying the third penny existed elsewhere. Thus the fourth farthing arising from the Cambridgeshire towns of Chesterton and Grantchester, originally given to Ely by the king when he was lord of these towns, in order to maintain the Cathedral, used to be paid to the castle of Norwich by the name of Ely Wardpenny. And in this connexion I am able to throw light upon another curious custom. In the Milton Abbey accounts for the year 1588, I find the entry, "For Peter's farthynges vjd." On which the editor of the accounts remarks that there is nothing in the accounts to show what was the nature of this peculiar payment, or to whom it

was ultimately handed. A reference is made to *Notes and Queries*, that invaluable storehouse of old world lore, and a quotation taken from the accounts of Tallaton, in East Devon, as follows: "1610. Paid for Peter's Farthings, xd." Mr. Ellacombe and others ask, "What was this payment? It occurs again, and I have met with the same entry in other parish accounts." The oracle, however, remained dumb, and so far as I am aware no writer on Devonshire has told us what 'Peter's farthings' were. They differed from 'Peter's pence,' inasmuch as the latter was a payment to Rome, whereas the 'Peter's farthings' were a payment to St. Peter's altar at Exeter, and were paid by such parishes as were in some way or other under obligation to the Cathedral.

Again we find that when the tin-mining industry was thriving it was found advisable to tax it; so "the tinners were tithed, and each 'spallier,' or spade labourer, paid his 'spade penny' annually." I do not find that the priest at Chagford, the centre of the mining enterprise, was directly entitled to a payment; but in Derbyshire the custom of giving the vicar every fortieth dish of lead ore raised in the parish of Wirksworth has long existed and been observed. The "dish" consists of fourteen

pints, the standard being preserved in the Moot Hall, where all mining cases belong to the Wapentake are brought for trial. Under the old Stannary laws, the tinners, we are told, enjoyed some remarkable privileges. They were allowed to dig for tin in any place they chose, no matter whose land it might be, without let or hindrance. For this right, moreover, they were required to pay nothing by way of satisfaction or remuneration.

Reverting again to royalty, we find that it was frequently the custom to supply the king with a certain number of men in time of war as a kind of quit rent. Thus we read of Exeter supplying Richard with twenty men for twenty days in 1484, while four years later the same city "had to furnish Henry with two hundred soldiers well arrayed for service in the Breton Expedition." Things wore a more serious face then, than they did in the days when the monarch, according to Westcote, granted the manor of Withycombe to a trusty follower "by the service of finding the king two good arrows stuck in an oaten cake, whenever he should hunt in Dartmoor." Lucky wight! When the King wants a few days' hunt in these modern times the noble lord who entertains

him may be prepared for an outlay to cover which thousands of pounds will be needed.

I find that in the reign of Richard II. a freeholder in Elsworth, Cambridgeshire held one quarter of land of William de Conyton "by the rent of one pound of commin," or cummin seed; a tenure which is matched in Devonshire. According to the statement of an old historian, the manor of Lifton, which originally belonged to the Crown, was in later years held by the chapel of Berkhampstead by the annual render of a pound of incense." About the year 1232, Thomas Tettburne notifies that he and his heirs are bound to render to the Chapter of Crediton one pound of wax every year, to be paid on the eve of the blessed Nicholas (8th May), towards the service of the chapel, which, with the assent of the chapter, he has built at Iwe (Yeo). The grantor and his heirs are bound also to take part in processions at Crediton four times a year, viz., on Christmas Day, Palm Sunday, Whit Sunday, and the Day of Preparation (Good Friday). Derogation from the grant was to be punished by the forfeiture of the chapel."

The manor of South Molton, we are told, was before the Conquest included in the demesne of the Crown, which had a good deal of land in

Devonshire. We find, however, that in the reign of Edward I. it had passed into the hands of the Earl of Gloucester, by whom it was granted to Lord Martyn, by the service of providing a man, with a bow and three arrows, to attend the Earl when he went to hunt in the vicinity. As the fee or service was sometimes irregular, so we find that rents were often paid in separate and unequal sums. An agreement exists between the chapter of the Holy Cross of Crediton and the Chaplain of the same, in which the latter is allowed the use of a piece of land, on the north side of the church, between the churchyard and the bishop's garden, on the following terms. Twelve-pence is to be annually paid at the Feast of St. Andrew; eight-pence on the day of the Invention of the Holy Cross, and eight-pence on the Holy Rood Day, or the day when the Exaltation of the Cross is celebrated. These dates represent May 3rd, September 14th, and November 30th.

Other ecclesiastical tenures were equally interesting and suggestive. In the tithing of Yewton is an estate bearing the name of Yewe, with which we may compare the foregoing Iwe or Yeo. This place is said to have been, formerly, held of the bishops belonging to the See of

Exeter by the Barons of Okehampton on these conditions. When the bishop is installed the baron shall act as his steward, or servitor, in return for which all the vessels in which the bishop is served at the first course shall become the property of the steward. At the installation of Bishop Stapleton, however, in the year 1308 this right was claimed by Hugh Courtenay, as lord of the manor of Slapton. His fee on this occasion included "four silver dishes, two salts, one cup, one wine-pot, one spoon, and two basins." Two places, named respectively Merton and Potheridge, were formerly connected in various ways, and this connection comes out in a curious manner. It appears that the Rector of Merton was formerly entitled to a dinner every Sunday, and the keep of his grey mare out of the barton of Potheridge. The historians, whom we follow in these matters, inform us that the rector was eventually constrained to accept a commutation of £3 per annum in lieu thereof. If the quit was a favourable one to the priest he must have had very humble fare on Sunday, and his mare not less humble during the week.

The Clyst, a little Devonian stream which unites at Topsham with the Exe, has given name

to several manors and parishes along its banks. These include Clyst St. George in which we find a small estate whose tenure consisted in "the annual tender of an ivory bow." Bicton, also, a place of considerable interest between Sidmouth and Salterton, supplies us with another illustration of curious tenures. I give the account from Worth's popular and valuable History of Devonshire.

"Bicton is associated with a very peculiar tenure, and with an amusing series of historical blunders. Soon after the Conquest, Bicton manor was granted to one of the Norman followers of William—a certain William the Porter, whose duty it was to keep the door of the gaol, and who held Bicton by this service. This tenure continued for some seven hundred years, down to the year 1787; and the early owners of the manor-house at different periods took the names Portitor, De Porta, De la Porte, and Janitor. From the Janitors it came to the La Arbalisters, the Sackvilles, and the Coplestones, and by sale to Robert Denis, whose heiress Anne carried it to Sir Henry Rolle, of Stevenstone, from whom it descended to the late Lord Rolle. It was under the present family that the ancient tenure came to an end.

It had lasted long enough to float a marvellous series of traditons, over which nearly every historical writer in the county has tripped—based upon the idea that where the tenure was, there the gaol must have been also! Thus it is gravely said that the county gaol was first at Harpford, and then at Bicton, before it was removed to Exeter. Westcote states that Henry I., who simply confirmed to John Janitor the keeping of the gate of Exeter Castle and gaol, removed the gaol to the city; and the Lysonses aver that it was moved from Bicton to Exeter for greater security in 1518. Proof, however, is quite clear to the contrary. Mr. P. O. Hutchinson discovered, in the 'Hundred Rolls' of Edward I., the statement that Bicton was held in sergeantry by the service of keeping 'Exeter Gaol;' and another entry to the same purport in the 'Testa de Neville.'" A full account may be found in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association.

A grant in the shape of a small annuity paid to the vicar of the old church of Pinhoe near Exeter is associated by tradition with a piece of clerical bravery in the days of yore. On one occasion, so it is said, when the supply of ammunition fell short, during an encounter between the English and

some hostile invader, "the mass priest of that place, for his skill and daring in procuring a supply of arrows," was granted a reward which was continued to his successors in office. So again "Floyer Hayes, for many centuries the seat of the Floyers, was held under the Earl of Devon, by the service of waiting paramount whenever he should come into Exe Island: the tenant being seemingly appareled with a napkin about his neck or on his shoulders, and having a pitcher of wine and a silver cup in his hand, whereof to offer his lord to drink." Similar tenures are not infrequent.

Before the Conquest, Molland was a part of Harold's domain, and he was naturally succeeded by William as Lord of the manor. Shortly afterwards it passed from the Crown to a family named Bottreaux, evidently Norman. The manor then claimed the right to a third of the pasture on the moors adjoining, together with the third penny of the hundreds of North Molton, Braunton, and Bampton. In like manner the people of Great Torrington enjoy peculiar rights over the common lands abutting on the town. These privileges are said to date from the days of Richard I., and include the right of unstinted common pasturage. It was also an ancient custom here to remove the

gates of certain fields annually as soon as harvest was gathered in, and stock the land with the cattle which had during the summer season been enjoying the run of the open common. When the time for the next year's tillage arrived the cattle were again removed from the fields to the common. This plan continued till near the middle of the present century ; then in 1835 it was modified by an agreement, in which the occupiers consent to pay the commoners 'quiet possession rents,' while they in their turn consent to allow the fields to be cultivated by the occupiers in any way they may think proper.

The custom of free bench existed of yore at Torre Mohun—the parent of the modern Torquay. By this custom a woman had free right to a copyhold independent of the will of her husband. On acceding to the estate she became a tenant of the manor, and was then included among the benchers. In case of incontinence she forfeited her right, which could, however, be recovered on certain specified conditions. And here we are reminded that the neighbouring town of Brixham also had a curious tenure. After the manor had passed through sundry hands it was divided into parts. That portion which came by right to the Gilberts

was purchased by some fishermen who thus became lords of the manor. Their shares having been again and again subdivided among the fisher-folk, who are commonly known as the 'quay lords,' and among whom are some 'ladies' enjoying the same rights, it now happens that Brixham has more 'lords and ladies of the manor' than any other towns in England.

Without attempting to exhaust this curious subject of tenures and grants I may refer to one or two other instances which have a local value. Everyone versed in the history of Kent has heard much of its Gavelkind. Now while it is clear from an act procured by the Mayor and Chamber of Exeter in 1581 that this peculiar tenure had prevailed in relation to much of the city land, we find that Devonshire had another form of tenure which is practically peculiar to that county. It is the much-disputed Venville, concerning which so much has been written that we cannot see the trees for the wood. "Venville," says one is "a word signifying by-dwellings, or habitations in parishes abutting on Dartmoor, which paid annually for their cattle, when trespassing within the forest bounds, *fines villarum* or village fines, thence corrupted into *fin vill* or Venville." Mrs.

Bray, however, who was well versed in everything relating to Dartmoor says "there is likewise an old custom, commonly referred to as the 'Fenwell rights,' which supports the truth of the assertion respecting the (former existence here of) *wolves:* since the '*Venwell* rights,' as the peasantry call them, are nothing less than a right claimed by the inhabitants of a certain district, of pasturage and turf from the fens free of all cost: a privilege handed down to them through many generations, as a reward for services done by their ancestors in destroying the wolves, which, in early times, so much infested the forest of Dartmoor." Thus, while the first writer derives the word Venville from fines, Mrs. Bray derives it from fens, and leaves the final syllable to scramble out as best it may. Mr. Worth now comes to the rescue and says that "A peculiar right of commonage continues (on Dartmoor), known as Venville tenure —which is accompanied also by feudal service— enjoyed by residents in the parishes skirting the moor. And this in all likelihood dates from Saxon times and represents the rights of common which the Saxon dwellers in the border district had enjoyed over the moorland waste, and which, maintained after the Conquest, have descended to

the present day." He then tells us that *wang* means a field in Saxon, and that *wangefield* is an early form of Venville. But does anyone see any clue there to the mysterious right? It is simply a case of darkening counsel with words. Halliwell informs us that the word Venvil occurs in an old manuscript setting forth the rights of the parish of Meavy, which is quoted in Marshall's 'Rural Economy of the West of England,' and that it means the right of pasturage and fuel. Marshall supposes it to be a corruption of *fen* and *field*.

From this conflicting evidence we turn to the study of some historical documents, relating to Dartmoor, in the hope and belief that we shall there find some light. Now in 1838 a letter was addressed to Mr. Pitman Jones, by the Rev. J. H. Mason, which contains this passage. "The tenants within the east, south, and west quarters [of the Forest] hold under copy of Court Roll. They drive the drifts within their quarters, and have nothing to do with Venville. They put their stock at once on the unenclosed parts of the Forest, and have a right or turbary; whereas the Venville tenants place their stock on the commons, or ought to do so, when they are first put out.

There being no fence between the commons and forest, the cattle will stray therefrom into the forest, for which this fine *(Finis Villarum)* was originally paid. This leads us back to the year 1621, when a report on the Dartmoor Forest was drawn up by Auditor Hockmoor, in which the following satisfactory statement will be found. 'There are divers towns abutting upon the Forest and within the purlieus thereof, and because their cattle did daily estray into the Forest were at a certain Fine, which being turned into a rent was called 'Finis Villarum,' and those which dwelled within those Liberties are called to this day Venville Men.'"

Thus it seems clear that the Saxon word *wang*, and the English *fen* and *field* are quite out of count in the derivation, and that Venville is a rent taking the place of a fine, the men who enjoy the rights of the Venville tenure being allowed, on the payment of a certain amount, to enjoy rights of pasturage in the common and forest of Dartmoor. This must close our study of tenures and grants though there are numerous others which might well have occupied our attention. It is not, however, intended to make these sketches exhaustive, but typical and suggestive.

Plant-Names and Flower-Lore.

DEVONSHIRE is a very paradise for the naturalist. Its ferny combes and flowery lanes, its fascinating geological formations and extensive flora make it a spot of great attractiveness to all who love to study these pleasing subjects. During my residence here in the early eighties the state of my health made it imperative that I should live much out of doors. I wandered about in all directions, and wherever I went, plucked the flowers from bank and brae, and enquired what they were called. The local names were in many cases so novel that I made a list of all I could obtain, and in due course published a "Glossary of Devonshire Plant Names." While I was engaged in its compilation I found that nearly every flower had its legend or tradition, and many of the names a popular etymology, or other association which linked the present to the past. Here I found the nucleus for my work on Flowers and Flower-Lore, which appeared shortly after I left this flowery paradise.

In this chapter I shall merely give a hint of what may be found stored up in the various publications dealing with this extensive and delightful subject: and as a mere list of names would not prove of interest to the general reader, I shall give only such as have a special meaning, history or association. Since I commenced my study of the subject nearly twenty years ago, many works on dialect, plant-names and flower-lore have appeared, but the works of Britten, Earle, and Prior are invaluable.

In Devonshire the name Adder's meat is applied to several plants producing red berries, and popularly supposed to be poisonous. It is a fact that several wild fruits and fungi with brilliant, smooth, scarlet skins are poisonous, or contain a peculiar property which acts upon certain animals and birds in a very remarkable way. The seeds of the Arum or Cuckoo-pint *(Arum maculatum)* cause fowls to turn giddy as if intoxicated, whence in Cumberland the plant is called the Hen-drunk. In Sussex all such fruits are called Poison-berries. These include the fruits of the briony, bitter-sweet, henbane, and belladonna. Now the term Adder's meat needs explanation, not only because of its interesting

etymology, but in order to correct a mistaken idea. It has been asserted by some writers that most of the plants which bear the name of adder—as adder's tongue, adder's meat, or adder-wort—appear in spring, when snakes are most generally seen. Now my experience, both at home and abroad, leads me to believe that snakes show themselves more in the hot days of summer and autumn than in the spring-time ; while it is certain that in the west of England the name of the adder is associated with plants which may be found at any and every season of the year, even including winter itself when snakes are nowhere to be seen. The fruit of the briony, for example, which, like the fruit of the arum, is known as adder's meat, is found on the hedgerows during the whole of the winter. We have then to look for a more accurate explanation of the matter, and we find it in the fact that the name refers to the real or supposed poisonous nature of the plant on which the fruit is found. Now in the language which was spoken by our Saxon ancestors the name for poison was *attor*, and the red fruits which were supposed to be poisonous were called attor-berries. In Sussex baby language the word lingers unaltered till this day. If a little one is

about to touch anything which is prohibited, the mother checks it by the magic word *attor*, pronounced *autâ*. The last syllable has also come to be recognised as the polite baby term for filth, excreta, and anything that is tabooed or unmentionable, the initial letter having been dropped, as in several other words, under the false impression that it was the indefinite article. When, therefore, the meaning of the word *attor* was lost, it was natural to suppose that it alluded to the adder, especially as there is a latent association in the mind between adders and poison. Hence the attor-berry became the adder berry, and in time adder's meat and even snake's food. Thus the matter can readily be traced from stage to stage, while the fact that in North Devon the term adder's poison is in use supplies a further confirmation of the accuracy of our explanation. The term adder's tongue is applied to several plants on account of the shape of the leaf. One of these, the arrow-head (*Sagittaria*) is connected with the old time folk-medicine. The aged matrons assert that a cupful of tea made daily of nine leaves of this plant boiled in a pint of water is a good strengthening medicine for spring and autumn use. No doubt the lucky or

magic number *nine* has much to do with its efficacy.

The general name for plants useful for medicinal purposes in Devonshire is *arbs*. I was one day passing through some fields in the neighbourhood of Newton Abbot, when an old lady, who was passing while I was examining a wild geranium, volunteered the following information. "Us calls that arb-rabbit (i.e. Herb-robert). The oal people gathers it, an' lays 'en up vor winter, to make arb tay." Thus a Devonshire recipe against witchcraft, written out in 1823, contains these instructions among others. "The paper of powder is to be divided in ten parts, and one part to be taken every night going to bed in a little honey. The paper of arbs is to be burnt, a small bit at a time, on a few coals, with a little bay and rosemary," and the witch will be powerless!

The young people of Devonshire, in common with their country cousins elsewhere, have a goodly supply of Bachelor buttons. Nearly a dozen flowers, wild or cultivated, are known by this name. Their folk-lore is amusing, and dates from early times. The country swain centuries ago would carry a flower in his breast or pocket in order that he might divine by its appearance

what success would follow his gallant and knight-like efforts to win the object of his love. There seems to be an evident allusion to this custom in the words of Shakspeare :—

"What say you to young Master Fenton? He capers, he dances, he has eyes of youth, he writes verses, he smells April and May; he will carry 't: *'tis in his buttons.*" "Merry wives," III., ii., 65. Then we have Beggar's buttons, a very appropriate name for the tenacious flower heads of the burdocks; and Billy buttons, because the same burrs are stuck by boys down their coat fronts to give them the appearance of a page or man in buttons. In fact the term 'buttons' is one of frequent recurrence in connection with plants whose flowers and fruits are suggestive of that article. Thus the flowers of the periwinkles are in Devonshire regularly known as blue buttons.

The Fritillary with its curiously chequered corolla has some interesting names, the study of which shew how easily the popular mind gets confused, and how readily it jumps at conclusions when words are employed whose meaning is not quite clear. In different places the plant is known as snake's head lily, dead man's bell, Death bell, Lazarus bell, leopard lily, checquered lily, and

guinea hen. The name Lazarus bell is in use around Crediton, whereas leopard lily is in frequent use there and elsewhere. In each case the name is undoubtedly a corruption. Mr. King has shrewdly remarked that Lazarus bell is undoubtedly a modern form of Lazar's bell, the flower having been originally so called in the days when leprosy was rife in England, and the lazar was bound to wear a small bell about his person, to give timely notice to the passer-by of his approach. The chequered markings on the blossom also suggested a connexion with the leper, and the term leopard's lily may be taken as a simple and perfectly natural corruption of the word leper's lily. The change would the more readily be made when we recall the fact that the leopard is distinguished by spots similar to those on the blossom of the fritillary. When a leper hospital was attached to nearly every large town, and a leper window was provided in many of our village churches, the names leper-lily and lazar's bell would be perfectly intelligible; but when leprosy died out and was forgotten, the plant names would be meaningless, and an effort would be made to change them into something which was suggestive and meaningfull.

Among the plant-names of Devonshire we find some curious survivals from the languages spoken by the various peoples which have from age to age inhabited the county. As *attor*, corrupted to adder, reminds us of our Saxon forbears, so Laver or Levver recalls the Celts. The term Levver is used when speaking of the Iris flags, and any sword-bladed plants, and is undoubtedly connected with the Gaelic *luachair*, and the Welsh *llafrwynen*. Similarly the term Becky-leaves, applied to the brooklime (*Veronica Beccabunga, L.*) reminds us of the beck, a stream or brook, and the influence exerted upon our folk speech by the Teutonic races.

Friar's caps is but another form of monk's hood, and is a relic of monastic times. The aconite, or monkshood, is also known as parson-in-the-pulpit. When that epithet is applied to the Arum we at once see its appropriateness. As a clergyman once remarked to me—it is "a manifestly good analogy." Probably it was on account of the Aconite being formerly known as monk's hood and friar's caps that it eventually became associated with the parson. Anyone unfamiliar with Devonshire ways and the dialect of the county might be excused if on hearing of Orgin's Tea he enquired what was meant,

Orgin is not the name of a famous dealer or grower; it is in reality a Greek word, which has come down to us through the latinized form *origanum*, and is used by Spenser when he speaks in the Fairie Queen of a bath of "origane and thyme." Orgin's broth is a common name for pennyroyal tea, an excellent potation for a cold, as Mrs. Bray remarks, and much in request on Dartmoor and elsewhere. The writer of the *Devonshire Courtship* remarks, "If I was a king, I'd make it treason to drink ort but organ tey."

Some people are very particular about the due observance of singular and plural. Whenever a word ends in a sibilant, it must be a plural form, and if a singular is unknown it must be invented. Hence we find such a word as diocese regarded as a plural, and each bishop is therefore expected to look after his own diocee. So when a plant was called Phlox, it was regarded as a plural—flocks—and now people in the west persist in calling the plant a flock. So the orchis flowers are provided with a singular, orchey—a curious illustration of folk-etymology.

In a county which is pre-eminent for its fairy-lore it would be strange indeed if the pixy did not in some way link itself on to the plants. Thus we

find that the toad stool is called pixy-stool, and years ago the regular name for the stitchwort around Plymouth was Piskie or Pixie. Another name for this pretty white flower is White Sunday *(Stellaria Holostea, L.)* which I regard as a pleasing allusion to the day when the young people appeared in white dresses at church with reference to their having put off the world and put on Christ. Mrs. Bray once led us to believe that the old heathen deity Thor had left his imprint behind in the name Thormantle—"excellent as a medium in fevers." I now think, however, that we have here merely a corruption of Tormentil, one of the numerous Potentillas. The name Potentilla was employed by the old herbalists from a feeling that the plant was specially efficacious and potent as a dispeller of disease. If, however, we cannot claim Thor under his proper name we find him in his popular character as the thunder-god. The horse daisy *(chrysanthemum)* is one of the few flowers which are associated with the thunderer in the West of England, where the scarlet poppy, found in all cornfields, is also known as thunder-bolt.

There is poetry in some of the old names of plants still in vogue here. Take for example the

term Snow-drift as applied to the Sweet Alice (Alyssum). As I sit here and look out of my window upon the mass of blossoms which cover my rockery, I feel that no name could be more apt. Spider plant is again very suggestive. It is one of many names associated with the creeping saxifrage *(S. sarmentosa L.)*; and anyone who has observed the young plants as they hang on their runners over the sides of a flower pot will admit the justice of this poetic epithet. So Spire is an apposite term for the reed mace, and Steeple bells for the flower spike of the pyramidal Canterbury bells. Perhaps no flower can, however, boast a more peculiar, and withal instructive name, than the stonecrop, and the figwort. The latter *(Scrophularia)* is called in Devonshire Crowdy-kit, a curious reduplication, since each part of the compound means a fiddle. The first portion of the name "crowdy" is from the Celtic *crot*, which appears in Welsh as "crwth," Gaelic "cruit," and occurs in the Romance languages as "rota," or "rote." This name for the fiddle alludes to its hollow frame, and is connected with the Welsh "crowth," which means a protuberance or belly. Hence we obtain our English surname Crowder or Crowther, literally a fiddler.

But just as crowd is a representative of the Celtic element in our folk-speech, so kit represents the Teutonic, and has the same meaning. The figwort is so called because when two portions of the stem are rubbed together they squeak just as a fiddle does when it is scraped with the bow. Hence it is sometimes called in other parts of the country by the plain English name of fiddle-plant, fiddles, or fiddle wood. Now the leaves of the stone crop, a plant which grows on walls and rocky places, possess the same property. Hence, to distinguish the one from the other, figwort is called simply crowdy-kit, while the stone-crop is crowdy kit o' the wall. The name is apparently only known among the old fashioned folk, but when I was one day visiting an old lady eighty eight years old at Ipplepen she both gave me the name and knew how it was to be explained. Her family, she informed me, used to be very musical, and she could remember the time when the fiddle was regularly spoken of as the crowdy.

So much has been written by myself in "Flowers and Flower Lore," and by others on the plant-lore of Devonshire that it is not desirable to go further into the subject here. The foregoing

samples, taken promiscuously from a vast mass of material which I have collected during the past twenty years, will serve to show how rich a field is here open to the folklorist, the student of dialects, and the botanist.

Old-Time School-Life.

NEITHER in the matter of her schools nor her scholars has the Devonshire of the past come behind the rest of the larger counties of England. She can boast of half-a-dozen public schools which have been in existence for some centuries, each of which has a by no means unworthy history. Our survey would be very incomplete if it did not include a brief halt at the doors of these academies. We might with leisure and patience learn much at each of them, not a little of which has more than passing and local interest. Some of the scholars who have here plodded through the routine of a dreary academy, picking up the rudiments of grammar, mathematics, and Latin, have in later years shed lustre on their *alma-mater*, their county, and their land.

In order to avoid any appearance of partiality, and with a view to the just distribution of honours, I shall turn away for the present from the city, and first invite attention to the school established in 1547 at Crediton. The Free Grammar School

of this ancient town owes its rise, and much of its later prosperity and progress, to the liberality and wisdom of that royal patron of learning, Edward VIth. At the present day the school and the church are closely associated. By a peculiar arrangement the church, once cathedral, then collegiate, is in the hands of a corporation of twelve governors or trustees. These twelve governors moreover enjoyed the privilege of appointing the headmaster of the Grammar School.

Old Leland visited Crediton a few years prior to the establishment of the school, and amongst other things he visited the church. Three hundred and fifty years ago he said of it that, "the church there now standing hath no manner or token of antiquitie." Its Perpendicular body would then be comparatively recent, and would tend to throw into the shade the Norman remains still to be found in the tower, and some other features of antiquarian interest, which time has emphasized and enhanced in value. Shortly after his visit Edward founded the school. The town then presented a totally different aspect from that of to-day. Its modern appearance is due to the terrible ravages of fire. The thatch and

timber houses of the 16th century have given place to others built of materials which are less liable to conflagration. No fewer than 460 houses were devoured by the flames during the great fire of 1743, while another serious catastrophe of a like kind befel the place a quarter of a century later.

It is gratifying to learn that even in Leland's time the people were sufficiently civilized to wear some kind of garb, so that the school was not established to teach the boys how to dress. He says that there is a market in Crediton, and "the town useth clothing, and mostly thereby liveth." The establishment of the school in 1547 did not prevent the people, two years later, from taking part in the notable religious insurrection of 1549, when 'The Barns of Crediton' became the watch-word, and the streets were barricaded by the rebels. Probably the boys of Crediton Grammar School had not as yet experienced the excitement and joys associated with a school 'lock-out,' and had not gained sufficient experience by that wholesome pastime to enable them to do much in the way of keeping back the assailants. It would, nevertheless, be interesting to get a peep at Crediton School on the memorable Whit Monday, 1549.

It concerns us more, however, to notice here that before the next and final passage of arms in which the town was concerned during the Civil Wars, a decree was issued in 1624, which directed among other things that £20 of the revenues should be paid yearly towards the maintenance of three poor scholars of the School of Crediton at the Universities. These exhibitions, which were formerly of the value of twenty nobles yearly, have since been considerably augmented. Each exhibitioner had £6 13s. 4d. per annum for five years successively, and on the expiration of that term others partook of the advantage.

In point of age the school at Tavistock is perhaps the oldest in the county, it having been associated with the famous abbey for a long time prior to the dissolution of monastic buildings in the reign of Henry VIIIth. The monks of Tavistock were not altogether the lazy, ease-loving, wine-drinking creatures which the monks generally have been depicted to be. They had their printing press early in the sixteenth century, and in 1525 issued the "Consolations of Philosophy." The title-page conveys the following information: "Emprented in the exempt monastery of Tavestock, in Denshyre. By me, Dan Thomas

Rychard, Monke of the sayde Monastery. To the instant desire of the ryght Worshypful esquyer, Mayster Robert Langdon." Let us try and picture the ruddy-cheeked boys of Tavistock playing around what are now the ruins of a once magnificent pile of buildings, or conning their lessons under the shadow of its hoary walls. Then comes the fatal message—Tavistock must cease to be a monastery, and the school must seek a home elsewhere. The abbey-lands together with the school, passed into the hands of the Duke of Bedford, in whom they were subsequently vested by an Act of Parliament. The town has been fortunate in the matter of lords of the manor. Thanks to the taste and liberality of successive members of the family, Tavistock has been constantly cared for by the Russells; and to one of the Dukes of Bedford is due the present school-house and residence for the master, while a considerable portion of the salary of the latter comes from the same purse.

In 1649, Sir John Glanville, Knight, granted to Trustees by indenture, an estate at Brentnor, and directed that out of the profits thereof, not less than £6 13s. 4d. (or 20 nobles) should be paid yearly to a poor scholar from the school at

Tavistock, for his better maintenance at the University of Oxford or Cambridge, until he should obtain the degree of Master of Arts. The profits some years ago amounted to about £40 per annum. Of this famous Sir John, Fuller tells us that he had three sons, sergeants-at-law, of whom one gained, one spent, and one gave as much as the other two. Tavistock has yielded not a few men of note to the county, while several have played their part in the wider history of the nation.

The Free Grammar School of Ashburton was founded in 1606 by one William Werring, Esq., who gave lands for the endowment of the same in the third year of the reign of James I. Since that time the original endowment has been from time to time considerably augmented by other benefactors. Thus in 1637 Lawrence Blundell gave by his will the sum of £4 per annum out of his lands at Ashburton for the purpose of assisting a poor scholar of the parish during four years of residence at one of the Universities. This benefactor must not be confused with his contemporary Peter Blundell, to whom another school in the county owed so much of its prosperity, as we shall presently see. Mr. Blundell

also gave the sum of £6 a year out of the same estate to a poor scholar of Ashburton, for his maintenance at the Grammar School and at the University, should one be found worthy. The appointment of this scholar is vested in the heirs of Mr. Blundell's executors. There are also two scholarships at Exeter College, Oxford, for pupils from this school.

The historians of Ashburton have not failed to do justice to the distinguished men who have reflected the lustre of their names upon their *alma mater*. It would occupy more space than I have at disposal if I were to attempt even the briefest biography of the first Lord Ashburton, earlier known as John Dunning; of William Gifford, orphan, cobbler, Bible clerk, critic, translator, and editor of the *Quarterly Review* from its first appearance till within two years of his death; or, of Dr. Ireland, who rose from a butcher's shop to the Deanery of Westminster, and like his contemporary, school-fellow, and friend, Gifford, became a munificent patron of learning. Ireland gave £10,000 for the purpose of establishing a professor-ship of Biblical Exegesis at Oxford, while the Ireland scholarship which he founded at the same University in 1825 is regarded as one

of the greatest prizes of its kind which Oxford has it in her power to bestow. The aspiring youth whose early pathway is bestrewn with difficulties can have no more valuable incentive to industry than that which the roll of the Grammar School of this quiet little town in Devonshire supplies.

A Free Grammar School was established in Kingsbridge late in the seventeenth century. In the year 1670 Thomas Crispin, a merchant of the city of Exeter, founded and endowed the school which has become one of the chief educational forces of this his native town. The first master was William Dunscombe, M.A., of King's College, Cambridge, and when he had held the post for twenty eight years he devised by his will in 1698 that £10 per annum should be paid to "one, two, three, or more such boys, being poor, as the estate will permit, and my Executors shall think fit, and shall have had their education and learning in the said free-school of Kingsbridge four or three years at least, and shall from thence go to the University of Oxford or Cambridge." Lord Langdale's decree in 1847 resulted in an order "that an exhibitioner be selected every year, and receive £50 a year for four years, and

that he must have been five years at the school, and not exceed the age of nineteen years at the time of election, which takes place on the 25th of June in each year. An examiner is appointed by the Bishop of Exeter, who is visitor of the school, and it is his duty to recommend or not, any candidates for the exhibition. A certificate from the master is also required. The thirty boys on the foundation have a priority of claim, and a boy's pecuniary circumstances are generally taken into the account."

We pass next to what has been called the chief of the public schools of Devon, the Free Grammar School of Tiverton. It was founded at the beginning of the seventeenth century by Peter Blundell, a native of the town, who, by dint of untiring industry, frugality, and shrewd investments, amassed a large fortune, and then left the whole to be expended on the promotion of the most worthy of objects—charity and education. Blundell was the child of poor parents. Born in 1523, he spent his early days in his native place running errands and waiting upon the carriers who plied between the town and city. He managed, however, while still a youth, to save a little money, and his first stroke of business

consisted in sending a piece of native cloth to London for sale. In course of time he ceased to entrust his wares to others, and took them himself to the great metropolis. When he had secured sufficient money he established a factory for the manufacture of kerseys, and thus built up a splendid fortune. In his will he directed his executors to purchase a piece of ground in a suitable and convenient place and erect thereon a schoolhouse and accessories, upon which if needs be the sum of £2,400 might be expended. His wish was that one hundred and fifty scholars should be the utmost limit, and for the benefit of these he directed that £2,000 should be bestowed in the establishment of six scholarships in the Universities. The six scholars were to be divinity students, elected by the Trustees with the advice of the master out of the said school, those who are aptest in learning, and least able to maintain themselves in preparing for the work of the ministry to have the first consideration. The Lord Chief Justice having been authorized to carry out the settlement of the scholarships, two were in due course founded in Balliol College, Oxford, while the other four went to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. This was due to

the fact that Emmanuel College declined to accept the two which had been allocated to it.

The funds left by Blundell were not yet exhausted, and when the school and scholarships had been fairly established it was agreed, in 1616, that £1,400 be paid by the trustees to the feoffees of Sidney Sussex College for the purchase of property in Lincolnshire. The proceeds were to be devoted by the College authorities to the maintenance of two fellows and two scholars (in the place of the four scholars already allocated to the College), to be called "The fellows and scholars of Mr. Peter Blundell." Provision was made for the expulsion of any student who proved unworthy, and it is sad to record that on "April 15th, 1669, William Butler, A.B., of the second year, and of Mr. Blundell's foundation, was expelled for immorality," it having been already found necessary in 1640, to remove one of his scholars, after three years' trial, for incompetence. The fellowships are tenable for ten years from the date of proceeding Master of Arts.

In 1678, inspired by the good example of Mr. Blundell, and by the advice of his feoffees, Mr. John Ham, gentleman, directed his executor to bestow £200 towards the maintenance of a fellow

and a scholar in Sidney Sussex College, or Balliol, to be chosen out of the scholars of Tiverton school. A hundred years later, a grocer of Exeter, one Benjamin Gilbert, invested £2,000 in consols, the proceeds of which were in due course to be paid to the Trustees of the Grammar School founded by Mr. Blundell, to be used for the benefit of the same at their discretion. The school began to reap the benefit of the same during the first year of the present century, 1801, and in 1802, it was ordered that £10 per annum be paid to each of their two senior scholars at Balliol and at Sidney Sussex in addition to their present stipend, and that an exhibition be founded, to be called the Gilbert Exhibition of the annual value of £20. In 1814 a change was made in the order, and the whole of the dividends on the consols was equally divided between two Exhibitioners on Mr. Gilbert's foundation. At three per cent. the amount invested yields to each a yearly income of £30.

A further endowment enriched the foundation in 1806, when the sum of £700, likewise in three per cent. consols, was appropriated by Richard Down for the purpose of aiding a suitable scholar in his education. The school, thus enriched,

has not been unworthily represented by her *alumni*. Richard Cosway, R.A., a miniature painter, who died in 1821 after having acquired a considerable reputation, was the son of a former master in this establishment, and if space permitted many names might be mentioned in the same connection.

We must, however, leave these pleasant groves and academic retreats in the country, to give a momentary glance at their rival in the city. The Free Grammar School of Exeter did not come into existence so soon as some of the others whose history we have traced. It was founded in 1629, having been preceded by Tavistock, Crediton, Ashburton and Tiverton. The deed of endowment bears date Febuary 20th, 1629, being the fifth year of the reign of Charles I. In the thirteenth year of his reign the same monarch issued letters patent for the settlement of the school; but it is to the liberality of Mr. and Miss Walton, Mr. Brough, and others, who early smiled upon the scheme for educating the youth of Exeter, that the institution owes much of its success. In 1745, the Rev. Dr. Stephens, Archdeacon of Chester bequeathed the sum of £3,000, the interest of which was ultimately to be

set apart for assisting six exhibitioners at either Oxford or Cambridge. The document is a lengthy one, but it specified that the youths who should benefit by his bounty must have been three years in the Grammar School at Exeter, and in order that no misunderstanding might arise he adds this word of explanation. "I do declare that, by the Free School in Exeter, I mean that school which stands within the hospital of St. John, founded by Hugh Crossinge, Esq., and others, and no other school whatsoever; for I would make the Mayor and Chamber electors of my exhibitioners, as they are electors of the schoolmaster, and do not doubt of their will to perform the said trust, with integrity and impartiality, for the advantage of the school and the honour of the city." The present value of each of the exhibitions is now (or recently was) £40 per annum. From the deed just quoted, and from other documents we learn that in the 21st year of James I., *i.e.* A.D. 1624, Hugh Crossinge and others had founded a charity school in the city, in connection with the ancient hospital of St. John the Baptist, and that this institution and the new Grammar School of 1629 were merged into one. Other exhibitions are due to the generosity

of Mr. Stephens, Mr Vidal, and other benefactors.

I cannot close this brief survey without mentioning one other fact in connexion with the Devonshire educationalists of the past. Among the famous bishops which have in former ages graced the See, mention is often made of Walter Stapledon, who in his day was Lord High Treasurer, and held other important posts. He was the founder of Stapledon's Inn, at Oxford; a seminary which after a while changed its name to that of Exeter College, the title by which it is now known. His work was taken up by Bishop Stafford, Lord Privy Seal, who completed the scheme for founding the College. The noble example thus set was emulated by Fox and Oldham, who in their turn became the founders of Corpus Christi College, and thus inseparable linked the name of Devonshire with higher education.

Some Old Bishopstools, Seats, and Palaces.

THE See of Exeter, like many another, has seen and survived a series of changes and vicissitudes. It was not always territorially the same as it is to-day, nor has Exeter been the perpetual home of the chief ecclesiastical dignitary of the bishopric. It will be my business in the following pages to deal with this branch of the past history of Devonshire; and, in so doing, we shall visit a few of the spots which have been more or less intimately associated with the bishops who have ruled here.

So early as the year 884, or nearly two hundred years before the Norman Conquest, we find it recorded that Asser, then Bishop of St. David's in Wales, was entrusted by King Alfred with the oversight of Exeter, together with the pastoral care of all the King's possessions in Saxony (*i.e.*, Devonshire) and Cornwall, subject to a variety of payments in kind. The Welsh Annals inform us that St. David died in 601. His influence was great, and the times were critical.

Throughout the period which his life covers, viz., the last sixty years of the sixth century, the conquest of England was in progress. "The Kingdom of Wessex had gradually pushed forward its boundaries; and between the years 577 and 584 it advanced to the Severn, thus separating the Welsh principalities from the still British Damnonia, then comprising Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. The British Church, during this time of conquest and of narrowing dominion, underwent many changes. It is probable that in the later days of the Romans, and for a short time afterwards, there was an episcopal see at Caerleon on Usk, presiding over the whole province of Britannia Secunda, the modern Wales. After the English conquests had narrowed the British border, the condition of Wales became greatly altered. The principalities of Gwynedd, of Powys, of Dyfed, and of Gwent arose; and soon after an episcopal see was established in each principality, the limits of the diocese and of the principality being identical. The ancient see at Caerleon became extinct; and the whole change was thus one from Roman to British organisation. The four sees thus established were those which still exist in Wales—Bangor, St. Asaph, St.

David's, and Llandaff. St. David was himself the founder and the first bishop of the see which bears his name." So far Mr. King, whose knowledge of, and interest in, the See of Exeter and its history were deep and accurate. There is evidence, as we learn from the same authority, that about 589, Constantine, the Prince of Damnonia, left his kingdom to enter the monastery of St. David; so that from the days of the great saint himself Devonshire and South Wales were in touch. We do not, therefore, wonder at the action of King Alfred. At the same time it is easy to see that such an arrangement could not long be satisfactory. The Bishop of St. David had enough to do at home, and something more must be done for Damnonia. Hence in, or about 909, certainly early in the tenth century, Crediton was made the bishopstool. And here a most interesting chapter in the early church life of Devonshire begins.

The religion of the Christ had been for some seven hundred years undermining the heathenism and superstition which existed prior to the Roman invasion, and it is possible to trace back to a very early date the existence of an organised church of Keltic origin and character.

Down till the time of Ecgberht, whose accession to the Saxon throne in 800 gives a new turn to the course of history in Wessex, this Keltic or British Church had swayed the religious life of the West. It then gradually lost its influence under pressure from the representatives of the Roman type of Christianity, and, although we find Alfred recognising the successor of St. David, we see that a new order of things is inevitable. And "in 909 the ecclesiastical order of Wessex was made complete." This was done by the consecration, in one day, of no fewer than seven bishops. One of these was Eadulph, who became the first Saxon bishop of Devon. At a synod held at Canterbury, a partial rule over Cornwall was also assigned to this bishop. Three manors, now known as Pawton, Callington, and Lawhitton, were given to him, in order that from thence he might visit the Cornish race thrice yearly—presumably taking each place as his seat for a brief period once every year—for the purpose of extirpating their errors.

It should here be borne in mind, what Professor Freeman has carefully pointed out, that the traditions of the British Isles did not, as in France, "connect the bishop with any particular spot.

He was bishop, not of a city, but of a kingdom or tribe, his bishopstool was not necessarily in the chief town, and he most commonly took his name from the people than from any town." It is to be presumed, nevertheless, that the place chosen by or for the bishop offered some peculiar advantages, and such a claim has been established for Crediton. Exeter was certainly, in the tenth century, far in advance of Crediton, and its importance would naturally have suggested the propriety of making it the centre of ecclesiastical government, if present-day standards had prevailed. Then it was otherwise. Probably some factors in the process of choice are unknown to us. Some of the motives which led to the establishment of the bishopstool at Crediton cannot now be adduced, for the simple reason that they were never put on record. It is, however, fair to assume that the fact of its having been the reputed birthplace of the famous Boniface, weighed with the first occupant of the See and his advisers. The place had a sanctity and charm, which only such personal associations can confer. St. Boniface, also known by his Saxon name of Wynfrid, was born, we are told, in 680. Having been led to embrace the Roman, as opposed to the Keltic, form of

Christianity, he set to work, both to undermine the influence of the rival form of religion which prevailed in the British Church, as well as to bring the heathen under the influence of Romanism. Not confining his arduous labours to his own land, he became the Apostle of Germany, was made Archbishop of Mentz, and became spiritual head of the whole German kingdom. He is said to have been martyred in 756, in his seventy-sixth year, while engaging in the attempt to convert the heathen still to be found in Friesland.

I do not, however, lay stress on this as a sufficient reason for the establishing of a See at Crediton, or even as one of the more important elements. Mr. Freeman asserts that the earliest evidence we have, of a documentary character, that Wynfrid was born at Crediton goes no further back than the fourteenth century, and disputes the existence there in the seventh century of an important Saxon settlement. His views have been strongly opposed by Mr. King, Prebendary Smith, and other by no means insignificant authorities, who give emphasis to the tradition, which is first recorded by Bishop Grandisson in the Legendary prepared in 1336 for the use of Exeter Cathedral.

If there was no important English settlement at

Crediton in the seventh century, the *ton* on the Creedy was by no means unimportant two centuries later. Between 680 and 910 there was certainly ample time for the upgrowth of a considerable settlement; a settlement, moreover, which was not so liable to disturbance from military and commercial, or rapacious causes, as was the larger and more accessible rival at Exeter. It was tolerably central. Modern methods of locomotion were unknown, so it was not a question of express trains and a convenient railway station, but a fair road, and ready access to every part of the diocese.

Here then, at Crediton, the first cathedral, known as St. Mary's Minster, or the *Monasterium Sanctæ Mariæ*, upreared its modest head. It would probably not come up to our idea of what a cathedral should be, remarks an able writer, but such as it was, it was the centre of the Christian Church, and the first bishopstool in Devonshire. From the Saxon Chronicle, and from other sources, we may gather the names of all the bishops of the See, several of whom died and were buried at Crediton. These were nine in number, and included Æthelgar, who made a pilgrimage to Rome "for his pride"—which was doubtless in

this way not a little gratified; Ælfwold, the protege of St. Dunstan; Sideman, who died while attending a council in Oxfordshire, and Lyfing, under whom the bishopric of Cornwall was united to that of Devon. The two remained wedded for a period of nine hundred years, no change taking place till a divorce was granted in our own days, resulting in the establishment of the See of Truro. It was during the time of Leofric, ninth Bishop of Devon, that the seat of the bishopric was removed from Crediton to Exeter. Even then "the manor of Crediton, with a brief alienation, continued to belong to the See of Exeter, and the bishops retained there a residence and park. The palace is now represented simply by a buttress, and the park indicated by the name of the 'Lord's Meadow.'" Mr. Worth, whom we quote, in common with other writers on the subject, shews that the chief reason for desiring a change was the exposed and defenceless condition of the town during the ravages of Danish pirates. Such at least was Leofric's plea in addressing the Pope on the subject, and requesting his holiness to recommend the English sovereign to make the transfer, though we may easily believe that the growing importance of Exeter was the real reason.

Pope Leo IX. graciously listened to the arguments of his suitor; the King, with equal grace, approved the papal nod; and in the year 1050, with a king at his right hand, and a queen at his left, Leofric was enthroned in the minster of St. Mary and St. Peter. From that day till this Exeter has remained the head of the see, and for upwards of eight hundred years the bishop's authority extended over Cornwall as well.

Of Exeter I must not now write. Its story, from the ecclesiastical standpoint, merits a chapter by itself, and having thus far made the story of the see clear, I may pass on to notice a few facts relating to the seats and palaces which have from time to time been tenanted by the lords spiritual of the diocese. Pawton, Callington, and Lawhitton, being now in the Cornish see, as well as beyond the Devonshire county border, do not concern us. We do find, however, that several places within the present diocese are linked by name with the ruler of the See. "*Bishop* (says Mr. Worth) is the usual prefix identifying episcopal properties," and of these we have Bishops Teignton, Bishop Cheriton, and Bishops Nympton, with Bishops Tawton and Morchard Bishop. Thus the bishops

claimed five manors or parishes, the monks and abbots having each left their distinguishing mark upon a similar number. These, with two claimed by priors and two by others, make a total of nineteen parishes connected by name with the Church. But in addition to the five parishes bearing the name of Bishop, we find sundry other parishes and manors held by them at different periods, and it will now be my business to notice the more important.

Foremost among the seats and palaces of former bishops of Devonshire must be placed Chudleigh. "We first find it an appendage of the See of Exeter, saddled with the duty of providing twelve woodcocks, or in lieu thereof twelve pence, for the bishop's election dinner; and Bishop Stapledon, in 1309, obtained the grant of a market. There was an episcopal palace, of which a few fragments yet exist, and here it was that Bishop Lacy died in 1455. The church had been dedicated by Bronescombe in 1455." These few facts, briefly stated by Mr. Worth, are significant of much, and my old friend, Miss Jones, of Chudleigh, has elaborated some of them to excellent purpose in her little volume setting forth the history of the town and district.

From her we learn that it was optional for the bishop to receive from the manor of Chudleigh at Christmas either twenty-four woodcocks or twelve pence. About thirty years after the transfer of the see from Crediton to Exeter the bishop, in his visitation, was so attracted by the salubrity of the air and the beauty of the vale, that he chose the place as one of the sites for his country residence. This seems to shew a tendency already to the search after pleasure and ease which characterized the Norman dignitaries both in Church and State. Chudleigh Palace undoubtedly became at once a favourite residence of the early bishops. Many of the documents which now enrich the ecclesiastical archives of Exeter, were signed by the bishops while they were enjoying the pleasures of this rural retreat, and we have documentary evidence to shew that the chapel of St. Michael, attached to the palace, was the scene of frequent ordinations and other functions. Dr. Oliver shews, by reference to a deed, that the lands, park, and manor of Chudleigh were appropriated to the See of Exeter between the years 1161 and 1184. Bishop Bartholomew granted the profits of his woods in Chudleigh to the Lazarhouse of St. Mary Magdalene, in Exeter,

In 1282, the manor of Chudleigh was annexed by Bishop Quivil to the cathedral precentorship. In 1308, the rental of the manor, according to Bishop Stapledon's Register, was £17 4s. 5½d., and about this time a sum of 20s. per annum was paid to the See by the Fulling Mill, the trade in woollen goods being then in a flourishing condition. It was at Chudleigh Palace that Bishop Lacy died in 1455, after governing the church for a period of thirty-five years. He was interred in his cathedral-church at Exeter, but his arms were set up in the east wall of the north aisle of Chudleigh Church. From his days little interest seems to have been taken by the great prelates of the Church either in the welfare of this little country town, or the attractions of the palace and its surroundings. Many of them were either involved in difficulties owing to the troublous times, or were so much engaged in their attendance on royal personages and secular affairs, that little time was left them for their more spiritual pursuits.

To Bishop Voysey is due the alienation of the church lands in this parish. In 1547 he granted a lease of the manor, town of Chudleigh, park, palace, and other properties, to the Duke of

Somerset for ninety-nine years; and whatever other effect it may have had, the act seems to have brought about the termination of the long established Roman Catholic rule there.

From Chudleigh it is not a far cry to Paignton, a place rendered memorable by the traditional association therewith of Myles Coverdale. It may, I think, be fairly assumed that those who throw doubts upon the statement that Coverdale once resided here have the best of the argument; but whether or not the great Biblical scholar was ever able to find time and opportunity to return to the palace of Paignton, certain it is that here the bishops had a seat. The manor of Paignton had been the property of the See of Exeter before the days of the Norman Conquest. Next to Crediton it was the most valuable of all its belongings at the time when Domesday was prepared. At the Survey-taking it was returned as of £50 value. It had 50 serfs, 52 villeins, 40 bordars, 5 swineherds, and a saltern. It became a market town in 1204. We have no definite information respecting the date when it was first selected by the bishops as a place of residence, though it has been asserted that about 1080 it attracted notice, at the time when Chud-

leigh was fixed upon for the erection of a palace. The same bishop as disposed of the sister manor of Chudleigh also conveyed this away from the church, and as this happened a brief time before Coverdale was appointed to the See, there is reason to believe that the palace was in the possession of a layman, William, Earl of Pembroke.

If Coverdale did not reside here it is certain that he could not here have been engaged in the work of translating the Bible. This is a cherished tradition in Paignton, but it cannot be supported by satisfactory evidence. Born in Yorkshire, in 1487, he adopted the faith of the Reformers about 1530, and four years later the translation was dedicated to Henry VIII. This was sixteen years before he was raised to the See of Exeter. He occupied the See but three years, and though in later years he was offered the position again after having been deposed, he preferred to decline its acceptance. He was deeply engaged during his brief term of office in trying to redeem the religious life and character of his diocese, and if the palace at Paignton had not then been actually disposed of, it seems pretty certain that Coverdale never lived there.

A mile or two on the other side of Torquay is Bishopstowe, where there used to reside occasionally a former Bishop of Exeter. It is immediately above the famous Ansty's Cove, and may be known by its Italianesque towers and terraces. A few miles away is Bishopsteignton, now well-known on account of its famous hydropathic establishment and delightful air; formerly, as its name denotes, the property of the bishop. At Rodway the ruins of the palace and chapel are still to be seen, and here the great dignitaries of the Church for many years found a favourite retreat. Bishop Grandisson is regarded as the builder of what was once known as a fair and beautiful house, with its convenient and costly buildings, and his later day brother, Voysey, had the doubtful honour of alienating it. Like many another whilom mansion, this building has now been absorbed by, or included in, a farm house.

Bishop's Clyst was formerly an episcopal manor also, and here the head of the See had a residence; but it probably passed over, with a score of other lordships and manors, in the days of the luxurious and wasteful prelate who preceded Coverdale. "Until the assertion was questioned by the late Dr. Oliver, Bishops Tawton, next Barnstaple,

was commonly accepted as having been the primary seat of the See of Devonshire. It is now abundantly clear that Dr. Oliver was justified in his scepticism, for later research has shewn that the belief rested entirely upon a statement made by Hoker, of Exeter, in his catalogue and memoirs of the bishops of Exeter down to 1583. Therein he states that 'Werstanus was the first who fixed the episcopal chair at Bishops Tawton,' in the year 905. No earlier writer than Hoker assigns a bishop to Bishops Tawton; such later writers as do all follow Hoker; and while no evidence confirmatory of this statement has anywhere been found, the difficulties in the way of its acceptance seem upon critical examination to be insuperable. There is, however, no reason to doubt (to quote the words of Dr. Oliver) that 'the manor of Bishops Tawton, with its members, Landkey and Swymbridge, formed a part of the original endowment of the See,' and was then regarded as its most profitable estate. 'Here the bishops occasionally resided, as they did at Clyst, in Farringdon parish; at Radway, in Bishops Teignton; at Place, in Chudleigh; and Paignton.' Some small remains of the ancient palace still continue." The church here contains some old

armour, together with memorials of the Chichester and Bourchier families.

Bishops Nympton possesses an attraction for the antiquary, both on account of its church, and also because its name has an interesting history. We are familiar with such place names as Intake and Newtake, indicating more or less recent enclosures. Here, in Devonshire, we have a group of parishes with the term Nymet, or Nympton, attached to their names, as Broad Nymet, Nymet Tracy, Bishops Nympton, Nymet Rowland, and the like. Our Saxon forefathers had a verb, *niman*, or *nyman*, to take, seize, or catch; whence our word nimble, formerly nimal, 'ready to catch,' and numb, signifying loss of power or sensation through being seized, gripped, or held fast. Now these parishes named Nymet mark the sites of ancient enclosures from the waste, common, or moor, in the days preceding the Conquest, when the Saxons were in possession, and were gradually subduing the land. The church of Bishops Nympton, though itself of the ordinary Perpendicular style, has a good tower with curious gargoyles, and a peculiar chancel roof.

It has been affirmed that out of twenty-five

lordships and manors enjoyed by his predecessors, and left for the use of Bishop Voysey, yielding a large yearly income, he left but three, and these leased out to others; while of fourteen houses, well furnished, and the demesnes well stocked with cattle and deer, he left to his successor, Coverdale, only one, presumably the Palace at Exeter; and that plundered of its furniture, and charged with several annuities. Of the remainder of the houses, manors, and lordships, it is not my purpose to treat; enough having been said to shew that the See must at one time have been far from undesirable, if we have regard to its revenues and residences, its beauties and opportunities. Like other things, the belongings of prelates and the Church have had their ups and downs, and even here we are reminded that things are never at one stay.

Old Devonian Facts and Fancies.

LET me endeavour in this connection to gather up a few miscellaneous items which have an important bearing on Church-lore, and other branches of antiquarian research. Foremost I will place some notices of

LEPROSY IN DEVONSHIRE.

That leprosy was once a well-known disease in this country is a well established fact. Witnesses are found in our numerous leper hospitals and lazar houses, leper windows, official documents, and side allusions in folk-lore and usage. Elsewhere I have drawn attention to the probable connection which is to be found between some still popular plant names and this disease. Mr. King writes with reference to the term *Lazarus Bell* as follows:—"This name I have found given in the neighbourhood of Crediton to what is more generally known as the snake's head lily (*Fritillaria Meleagris*)—a somewhat rare native plant. Another name for it, which at first seems just as unintelligible, is *leopard lily*. In both cases, however, these names are probably cor-

ruptions. *Lazarus bell* seems to have been originally *lazar's bell*, and the flower must have been so called from its likeness to the small bell which the 'lazar' was bound to wear on his person, so that its tinkling might give warning of his approach. The checked, scaled marking of the flower also suggested a connection with the leper; and *leopard lily* is no doubt to be explained as *leper's lily*. It need hardly be added that these names are now quite without understood meaning, although when a leper's hospital was attached to every large town they would have been intelligible enough." The explanation of the second name is, we think, fairly open to dispute. When we remember the leopard's spots, and call to mind the fact that the fritillary is known by such names as guinea-hen flower, nutmegs, and chequered lily, we may admit that the name is quite unconnected with leprosy. On the other hand, such names as deadman's bell (the leper being accounted legally dead), and deith-bell certainly suggest a connexion with lepers, and support the interpretation of the term Lazarus bell which Mr. King has suggested.

What evidence, it may be asked, have we that leprosy formerly existed in Devonshire? If we

study the history of the churches, and look up the dedications, we shall find some help towards an answer. Thus at Plympton St. Mary we find a church dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St. Mary Magdalen. The latter name is suggestive, and we find from the old records that it was associated with a house or hospital for lepers. The same dedication occurs in about a dozen parishes, and in more than one of these it is definitely associated with a lazar house. It was so at Totnes, and also at Exeter, while at Pilton the leper hospital was under the protection of St. Margaret. We have a curious fact on record relating to Exeter. In 1476 one John Orange was mayor of that city, and it would seem probable that he was the son of a former mayor Richard Orange, who had been the chief magistrate twenty-one years before (1455). Izacke, the Devonshire chronicler, informs us that he was a gentleman of noble parentage, descended from the family of Orange, who held possessions in Anjou and Mayn. He ended his days as a leper in the hospital or almshouse of St. Mary Magdalen, and in the chancel of the chapel attached to that institution his body was interred. This hospital had then been in existence for some centuries,

and was liberally endowed; for we learn from some twelfth-century deeds that Bishop Bartholomew granted the proceeds of his timber-lands in Chudleigh to the lazar house of St. Mary Magdalen, Exeter.

In two documents dating from the reigns of Richard and John we find a list of chapels then existing in the city, in addition to the parish churches. Among these mention is made of "St. Mary Magdalen or the Lepers' Hospital." It will be well here to insert a note by Prof. Freeman, from his excellent volume on Exeter in the Historic Towns' Series:—"The large and constantly increasing number of directly charitable foundations in Exeter form a marked feature in the city. And some of them date from these times, when the city was, so to speak, in making. The bishops, perhaps from the time of Leofric [who transferred his stool from Crediton to Exeter in 1050], had an almshouse on the site of the present Vicars' College . . . and in 1170 a citizen founded the hospital of St. Alexius near St. Nicholas' Priory. Both these foundations were afterwards merged in the Hospital of St. John, by the East Gate, founded by Gilbert and John Long about 1225. Another

early foundation was the Lepers' Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, *outside the South Gate*, of which Bishop Bartholomew was not the founder, but a benefactor. He gives it several sources of income, among others the bark from his wood at Chudleigh. The inmates of the hospital were strictly forbidden to go into the city. The Lepers' Hospital was at first in the patronage of the bishops, and St. John's in that of the city, afterwards the two were exchanged."

In the same volume we have a further instructive allusion to this subject:—"In Hoker's account of the city officers, the duties of the Warden of the Magdalen, or Lepers' Hospital, are laid down. He is to see that the church, houses, and buildings are repaired, and that none of its property is leased without the consent of the Mayor and Twenty-four. In Hoker's day the house still fulfilled its original purpose. The inmates are spoken of as 'lazar-people,' and none are to be admitted except 'sick persons in the disease of the leprosy.' But as that disease died out of the country, the Magdalen-house gradually came to be an ordinary alms-house, only with a preference for scrofulous inmates. . . . The foundation of John Gilberd in 1538 witnesses,

like the Magdalen, to the late prevalence of leprosy. His hospital, though under the management of the city, was not in Exeter, but at Kingsteignton. A warden is to be chosen from among the 'lazar people' themselves, and it is provided that 'such amongst them as should have ability to labour should not be in idleness, but should assist the rest of the company that should be impotent, and also, as their powers would extend, should labour in their herb-garden for their own sustenance.'" All this is so thoroughly in harmony with what we know of the disease, and the methods adopted for its treatment elsewhere, that I do not need to enter into further detail by quoting evidence from Totnes, Plympton, Pilton, and elsewhere.

SOME FAMOUS YEW TREES.

The tourist may be glad to know where he can see these interesting links with the past, while the church antiquary will be grateful for some notes which will enable him to complete his researches into a curious, and still somewhat mysterious, subject. I shall not here discuss the various theories put forward to account for the presence of yew trees in graveyards. One of these stands in the churchyard at Denbury. In the spring

of 1876 a branch was torn from its stately trunk during a heavy gale, connected with which we have a curious record:—"The sap was rising at the time, and the tree would have bled to death but for the doctoring of the village farrier, who closed the wound with some composition of a strongly styptic property. In his bill, sent in to the parish authorities, mixed with various items for shoeing horses, etc., appears 'to healing the yew-tree, 2s. 6d.' With such a record in the parish books (says Mr. Karkeek, who supplies the information), it may be as well to save the ingenious speculations of future antiquaries by giving the present explanation." Certainly the entry would have done credit to fourteenth or fifteenth century registers, and we have in this simple circumstance a vivid sidelight on the rustic life of a remote Devonshire village.

Some years ago the Devonshire Association met at Dawlish. In connexion with that event I supplied some reports of the proceedings to the papers, and specially directed attention to the splendid old yew trees in the churchyard at Mamhead, which was visited during one of our memorable excursions. From the reports of others written at the same time I find it recorded

that "the grand old yew tree in the churchyard was duly admired." An enormous yew tree likewise overshadows the church of Shute, a building partly in the Decorated and partly in the Perpendicular style, in which Sir William Pole, the antiquary, is represented in his court dress as Master of the Household to Queen Anne. Passing on to Exmouth, we take a run to the ruined Church of St. John in the Wilderness, at Withycombe, where another noble tree affords a welcome shade when one has been for sometime walking under a sweltering sky. The yew tree in the pretty, retired village of Stokegabriel is said to be the second in England for size and age.

Finally, we may confidently invite the traveller to visit Bampton. The church stands at the west end of Castle Street, and after inspecting the antiquarian attractions of a carved roof and screen, and the fragments of early stained glass which it contains, we may seat ourselves on the stone benches which are built around the two aged yew trees, and enjoy the splendid prospect there to be gained. We shall be able then to see the fine beech trees at the Mount; and if our tastes lie in this direction we may visit Powderham, Mamhead, and Berry Pomeroy, then go on to

Dartmoor, and contrast the wizened oaks of the Wistman's Wood with the giants we have examined in the parks and preserves on these estates.

SINGULAR CHURCHES.

The student of antiquities is ever on the alert for what is unique, curious, or unusual. He will find in this interesting county many things to gratify his taste. Let me refer, for example, to the unusually attractive church and parish of Haccombe near Newton Abbott. In the absence of any information respecting the etymology of the name, I venture to compare it with the Hautecombe of Aix-la-Chapelle. Haccombe, says Mr. Worth, is the most interesting parish in the vicinity of Newton, and one of the most singular in Devon. In the olden times it was an extra parochial chapelry. Sir John L'Ercedekne, who surely must have derived his name from the office of Arch-deacon, made it an arch-presbytery about the year 1341, from which fact it results that the rector of Haccombe is still known as an arch-priest. Originally there were five others associated with the arch-priest, who together made a college and lived in community. To-day only the head of the community remains. "As the seat of an

arch-priest, Haccombe naturally used to claim exemption from the authority of an archdeacon; and Haccombe itself was regarded as beyond the jurisdiction of any officers, civil or military, and as being free, by royal grant, from any taxes. Probably fewer changes as to population have taken place here than in any other manor in Devon which has developed into a parish. . . . The church dates from the thirteenth century, and contains some fine effigies of the Haccombes, with brasses of the Carews, and a high tomb which probably commemorates the Courtenay owners—Hugh and Philippa his wife."

In a work dealing with the history and evolution of such curious church usages it would be necessary to adduce illustrations from other parts of the country and confirmatory evidence; and this it would be easy to do. Here, however, I can only draw attention to a few subjects meriting the consideration of the reader who revels in old-world lore, leaving him to take up such as appeal most strongly to his particular tastes or opportunities for research.

There is another church in Devonshire whose history is somewhat similar in some of its details to that of Haccombe. In the neighbourhood of

Tavistock we find a parish known as Whitchurch. In Domesday it is referred to as Wicerce, a name which clearly points to the existence of a church here in the days which preceded the Norman Conquest. About the year 1300 Robert Champeaux, head of the neighbouring abbey of Tavistock, made Whitchurch into an archpresbytery, with a college of four priests, viz., the rector as archpriest and three fellows. I may remind the antiquary of Hartington, in Derbyshire, which is a deanery of itself, and as such claims exemption from the supervision of the arch-deacon, and the authority of the diocesan. Battle in Sussex is almost the other example in England.

I may add one or two other allusions to CHURCHES IN PRE-NORMAN TIMES, although, unfortunately not one of them now exists. The neighbourhood of Torquay seems to have had a peculiar attraction for the Saxons. "The place names in the vicinity are almost exclusively of Teutonic character, and it affords two of the rare local instances of the proven existence of a church before the Conquest. 'Sce maria cerce' (or St. Mary's Church) appears in Domesday as belonging to the Earl of Moreton, and as having been held by Ordulf. The Saxon

font is still in existence, preserved through the churchwarden period by being partially buried, reversed, in the floor. It is ornamented with rude and very quaint carvings of figures of men and animals." The other local case is that at Churston, which we will take after a visit to Dawlish. In a charter of the time of Edward the Confessor, 1044, we find a valuable allusion to the subject of Saxon ecclesiastical edifices. In laying down the parish boundaries the document says: "First at Teignmouth; up along the estuary to crampansteort (anchor point); and so back again by the Salterns along the street on the west side of St. Michael's Church." This mention of St. Michael's Church, as Mr. Davidson has remarked, is especially interesting. Not only is a reference in Saxon boundaries to a church very rare, but proof of the existence of this venerable structure as a Saxon edifice twenty-two years before the Conquest will be welcome to all antiquaries. Unfortunately this curious structure, which survived till the present century, was removed in 1821, and so disappeared the last remnant of Saxon architecture in Devonshire. Leland appears to have visited it in the sixteenth century, and about a century ago an

account of it, with an excellent engraving, appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Polwhele says that the style of its architecture, or that of its towers may be referred to the Saxons. "Take away the church from these towers (he says) and they would favour more of a military than a religious structure." Another writer adds that the church, dedicated to St. Michael, was regarded as the oldest in the jurisdiction of the Dean of Exeter. "The first structure was small, and was built, according to the account of the ancient inhabitants, for the conveniency of the fishermen going to prayers before they went about their fishery, and as an emblem thereof, several golden herrings were hung up in the church."

It will have been observed that the old way of spelling church was "cerce." In those dialects which developed the hard sound for the consonants this word became kirk, whence the frequent occurrence of Kirkgates in the north, denoting the road to kirk or the church. In the south the soft sound survived, and hence it is that we find near Brixham a manor or parish called in Domesday Cerceton, and now Churston; then containing a population of twenty-five, but glorying in the possession of a Saxon sanctuary.

In addition to these evidences of Christianity in days preceding the Conquest, we find a few crosses and inscribed stones, which have considerable interest for the antiquary. From these, however, I must turn away in order to notice the use of the

HORSE-SHOE ON CHURCH DOORS.

In former days one might have seen on the door of the Haccombe Church no fewer than four horse-shoes. Tradition affirmed that they were relics of a curious competition. A wager, it is said, was once made between a Champernowne and a Carew as to which could swim the farthest out to sea on horse-back. He who won the wager was to receive a manor, and as Carew was the fortunate competitor he forthwith unshod his horse, and nailed the victor's shoes to the door in commemoration of his feat. The story might pass muster were it not that we know from authentic sources that the horse-shoe was employed as a charm in churches as well as on stable-doors and at the entrances to dwelling-houses. We may set this story off by another relating to Horwood in the vicinity of Bideford, Devon. For many years this was the principal residence of the family of Pollards, and in the

church a notable monument to one of the former matrons may still be seen. It represents a lady in the garb of the fifteenth century, enveloping three children in the folds of her robe. On the door of the church a horse-shoe might formerly be seen, which tradition affirms to have been placed there by the Cornish blacksmith, Michael Joseph, who marched through the place in 1497 at the head of an insurrectionary party, and met with a crushing defeat on Blackheath.

The presence of horse-shoes or their representations in churches is by no means unusual, and the visitor to Melrose Abbey will remember seeing in one of the chapels of the south aisle an ancient kneeling stone, bearing on its top the inscription Orate pro anima Frat Petri Acrarii, and on one side the representation of four horse-shoes. These were supposed to possess a charm, and to be capable of counteracting evil and covetous wishes. I have during recent days seen a cottage facing a graveyard protected against the invasion of sprites and witches by the magic horse-shoe, and when we remember that other kinds of charms were constantly employed in churches it will be easy to see that in Devonshire the horse-shoe had a similar use.

A Brief Life-Story of the Cathedral.

LET us take our stand in imagination, or, better still, in reality, here, within the Cathedral Close, and try to read the history of this venerable pile. If we were compelled to limit ourselves to the actual history of these identical stones, our story would go no further back than the twelfth century of our era. Every biographer, however, likes to give a chapter to the parentage of his hero, and, if possible, go back a few generations in order to create a halo of greatness to set off his portrait to advantage. And it may be permitted us to indulge our fancy somewhat, and go back in imagination to those days prior even to the Roman Conquest, when the semi-mythic Druid held sway over the faith of men, as the Phœnician or other trader did over their purses. We may dream of a circle of stones, or a temple of green branches, and picture to ourselves the nature of the rites performed on this sacred spot. Then we may imagine a Roman altar reared, where a shrine to some unknown god had stood before, and think of the representatives

of the Eternal City offering libations to the deities, which without number clamoured for their homage. The Roman in due time gives place to the Kelt, and we tread on firmer ground when our feet are on the soil which was trodden by those British tribes which were sandwiched between the earlier Roman and the later Saxon. We know that Exeter had her Christian altars in the days of the Keltic occupation, and if no trace of the sanctuaries then erected survive in actual brick and mortar, we still find the proofs in the unbroken record of sundry dedications. The Keltic Church element must here have had a stronghold, and when the Saxon Conquest secured Exeter to the loyal followers of Athelstan and his successors, it was but natural that the new type of religion, which received its colour from Rome, should endeavour to utilize the advantages of the situation. Hence, even in Saxon times, possibly in the days of Athelstan himself, a Benedictine monastery arose here, dedicated jointly to the Virgin and St. Peter.

We have seen that Exeter was not at first chosen as the seat of episcopal authority. When Leofric, however, in 1050, with the consent and aid of his sovereign and the pope, transferred his

From Photo by] EXETER CATHEDRAL. [*Photochromo Co.*

stool from Crediton to Exeter, he naturally selected the monastic church as the most suitable spot in which to place his throne. The story of his induction, with Edward to right of him, and Editha to left of him, has been often and vividly recited. We are told that the monastery was not the only religious building which at that time occupied the site of the present Cathedral, but that two other houses devoted to sacred use stood within the precincts. Be that as it may, no Saxon remains are now to be found there. Leofric, the first bishop of Exeter, held sway here from the year of his translation in 1050 till his death in 1073. The Norman Conquest did not result in his deposition, and though he found the Minster reduced to extreme poverty, he was able to recover many of its lost possessions and add others thereto, so that when Osbern was promoted to the See he found it wealthy and flourishing. The successor of Leofric died in 1102, and during the life-time of these two prelates the Saxon Minster continued to be the Cathedral (1050-1102). It is supposed by some authorities that a relic of this Saxon sanctuary still survives in the little chapel which adjoins the chapter-house, and is dedicated to the Holy

Ghost; for the rest, all has long since been removed.

For some time after the death of Osbern, the Church and the Crown were hotly contesting their rival claims to the right of investiture, but in the end Warelwast, a nephew of William the Conqueror, was placed upon the episcopal throne, and under his direction the work of erecting a church more in harmony with the feeling and aims of the religious leaders of the age was commenced. At this point opinions vary. Some maintain that the towers now standing on the north and south sides were originally erected at the west end of the Norman nave; while others, with more show of reason, affirm that they were from the first intended as transepts. They are dedicated to St. John and St. Paul, and were erected, together with the choir and eastern bay of the nave, by Warelwast. The work thus begun took just a century to bring it to completion (1107-1206), and during that time no fewer than six bishops were in charge of the See. If the time seems long it must be remembered that the age was not without its troubles, nor the Cathedral without its vicissitudes. When Stephen besieged the city thirty years after the election of Warelwast, the

new-born church was greatly injured, and much of the recent work had to be gone over again.

The building, as it left the hands of Henry Marshall, in 1206, included the two towers, the choir with its chapels of St. James and St. Andrew, the Lady Chapel with its adjuncts (known as St. Gabriel's Chapel and the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalen), and part of the nave; all of which have been more or less altered as the years have rolled by. In the second quarter of the thirteenth century, Bishop Bruere erected the chapter-house, and fitted the choir with stalls and seats. To him, therefore, we probably owe the curious and unique misereres—the earliest, perhaps, which this country possesses.

The Cathedral was now on the point of renewing its youth. The period of gestation and infancy had been so extended that, when it finally presented itself to the world as a shapely child, it was no longer a pure Norman, but bore the marks of transition, as seen in the change from the semi-circular to the pointed arch. The direct offspring of a Saxon Minster, it was now to develope into a graceful building with the well-marked characteristics of the Decorated period as its principal features. The initiator of the new

scheme was Bishop Quivil, who was on the throne from 1280 till 1291, but another hundred years elapsed before the work was completed. Without pulling down what his predecessors had built, the artist clothed their massive work with grace and beauty, adding ornament and lightness to the fabric, and so transforming it from a ponderous mass into a sanctuary marked by the greatest elegance and taste. Peter Quivil, whose monument may be seen in the Lady Chapel, was succeeded by Bishop Bilton (1292-1307). He began the work of transforming the choir, and proceeded to beautify the Lady Chapel with its quasi-transepts. Next came Stapledon (1308-1327), to whose taste and generosity we owe not only the elaborate sedilia and the remarkable choir screen, or ambon, formerly known as *la pulpytte*, but also in all probability the "magnificent episcopal throne," towering to a height of fifty-two feet in elaborately carved oak. It is estimated that from this period onward, for the space of a century and a half, one thousand pounds was expended on an average every year in enlarging and beautifying the Cathedral. Bishop Grandisson, who came into office when a London mob had put an end to Stapledon in

Cheapside (1327), did not slacken his hand. He was of royal lineage, and to his sister, Lady Catherine, we owe the romantic story usually associated with the institution of the Order of the Garter. He was a man of literary tastes, as his Legendary and Ordinal witness. The former, which has been published within recent years, is an invaluable MS. in two volumes, folio, beautifully executed. Each of the sheets, numbering about five hundred and fifty, bears the autograph of the learned ecclesiastic. In 1358 the bishop succeeded to the peerage owing to the death of his brother, and the wealth which thus came into his possession was unstintingly devoted to the clearing away of pecuniary difficulties, and the furtherance of the plans of his large-hearted predecessors. He extended the nave, vaulted its roof and that of the aisles with stone, inserted windows in the aisles, and rebuilt the chapel on the south of the main entrance.

Grandisson was succeeded in 1370 by Bishop Brantyngham, who added the splendid western façade with its noble array of statues, including "prophets and apostles, martyrs, saints, and kings," though much of the elaborate tracery bears witness to the continuance of the work by

later artists, and by other hands. The great east window was now inserted, the cloisters were added, and by the end of the fourteenth century the structure was practically complete. During the next century the chapter-house was greatly modified, and we now see it virtually as it was left by Bishop Bothe in 1478.

The last four hundred years have told their tale in various ways. Time and atmospheric forces have left their finger-marks as surely, if not as ruthlessly, as Puritan iconoclast and rebel vandal. For some years a brick partition separated the building into two parts, in one of which the Presbyterians worshipped, while the Independents used the other. After the Restoration the building was repaired and beautified at an outlay of £25,000. Then came the purchase of the renowned "pair of organs," and last, but not least, a thorough renovation or restoration under the direction of Sir Gilbert Scott, which, as usual, gave rise to a great deal of controversy and heart-burning.

As you stand and gaze upon the magnificent pile, you are able now to divide its history into three periods of four centuries. The first age, from the ninth to the twelfth century, was parental.

From Photo by] WEST FRONT EXETER CATHEDRAL. [*Photochromo Co.*

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Next followed the age of growth and development, from the twelfth to the fifteenth. Then came the age of restfulness and quiescence, during which growth has ceased, and the energies have been expended in conserving what it has taken so long a time to acquire. You see, moreover, specimens of the workmanship of almost every period, from the time of Warelwast to that of Bothe (1112-1478). If the massive Norman work has been shorn of its baldness, and draped in beauty by a later hand, the work is still there, and may be studied from without. Then the period of transition may be traced in the pointed arch, till it merges into the style known as Early English. Gradually the second period of transition arrives, and we then glide into the Decorated period, characterized by its beautiful mouldings, elaborate tracery, and lavish ornamentation, with which our survey is complete.

To draw attention to the details would be impossible. Pictures and hand-books abound, and the visitor to the Cathedral will find no difficulty in obtaining an efficient guide should his own knowledge be insufficient, or the manuals bewildering.

The west front, if not all that could be desired

from the architectural standpoint, will at once command attention by the richness and variety of its sculpture. Within is the tomb of Bishop Grandisson, and in the north aisle of the nave will be found the colours of the 11th Devonshire Regiment, and those of the 9th Royal Lancers, with suitable inscriptions. In the choir the curious misereres may be inspected, and attention will be drawn to the Minstrels' Gallery, with the organ and screen. Many noble monuments will detain the student of this branch of ecclesiastical art, while the throne and other carved work will appeal to another class. The window tracery, painted glass, ancient clock, bells, chapter-house, frescoes, corbels, capitals, library, and armorial bearings, will each find their admirers, and the verdict will be an endorsement of Mr. Knight's, when he says :—"The interior is in many respects surpassingly noble and beautiful." Viewing the building as a whole, the student will now be able to appreciate the remarks of Prof. Freeman, with which we bring our story to a close.

Dr. Freeman says that the plan as we see it carried out, exhibits perhaps the most perfect specimen in the world of bilateral symmetry. Just as when a sheep is cleft in two down the

backbone, each half is the exact counterpart of the other, so if the ridge of the Cathedral were taken as the dividing line, each part would exactly duplicate the other. "Not only does pillar answer to pillar, and aisle to aisle, and window tracery to window tracery, but also chapel to chapel; St. John Baptist's to St. Paul's, St. James' to St. Andrew's, St. Saviour's to St. George's, St. Gabriel's to St. Mary Magdalene's; while, to crown all, the grand characteristic feature of our Cathedral—the transeptal towers—completes this balance of parts, and was, indeed, the primary instance and model of it."

In the Wake of the Monks.

IT is not given to the Devonshire antiquary to glory in any of the first rank ruins of monastic building in which our country is so rich. No counterpart to Fountains or Furness, Tintern or Tewkesbury, Wenlock or Buildwas, Melrose or Dryburgh, is anywhere to be found. This is not because the county has always been of that atheistic and heathenish character that monasticism could not thrive there. Far from it. History says otherwise; and if the romance of crumbling stone and mouldering arch is almost absolutely lacking, we may still visit the sites of not a few ancient monasteries, and say—Time was when you might have seen here not ruins merely, but buildings which would vie with any in the land for picturesque beauty and wealth of endowment. Let us gather up a few facts as we roam from place to place. We need not burden ourselves with dates, or try to carry in our minds a list of the monastic buildings in the order in which they were founded, or which they merit by reason of their wealth or influence.

In studying the rise and growth of the Cathedral, we have seen that Exeter was early chosen as a suitable centre for the establishment of the monastic rule. If tradition is to be trusted, the Benedictines found a home here so early as the days of Athelstan, who is said to have granted to the monastery twenty-six manors by way of endowment. He also gave one-third of the sacred relics which he had collected to the Minster, which was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Peter. Athelstan came to the throne in 925, but there are those who assert that the Minster at Exeter dates from the days of Ethelred, more than half a century earlier, though I am not aware of the existence of any document supporting the statement that it was founded in 868. It is reasonable to suppose that Alfred's influence over, and connexion with, the neighbouring district, may also have been in its favour. Associated in very early times with the Benedictine monastery and the Saxon minster was also a nunnery; but when the Danes made their dreaded incursions the monks and nuns fled in dismay, the buildings were injured, the charters destroyed, and desolation everywhere held sway. When, in the days of the Confessor, Leofric, Bishop of Devon,

resolved to transfer his stool from Crediton to Exeter, the Saxon minster was fixed upon for the Cathedral, and the monastery and nunnery were attached to the same, and placed under a new regime. The only trace of old-time monasticism in Exeter, therefore, is to be found in the existence of the Cathedral on the site once occupied by the friars of St. Benedict.

Several places in Devonshire are still in name associated with the monks, though the worthies themselves, and in some cases every trace of their former connection with the locality, have long since disappeared. Chief among these is the place known as Buckland Monachorum, or, as we might perhaps phrase it to-day, Monks' Bookland, land held by the book or charter. Situated on the eastern side of the Tavy, and within easy reach of either Plymouth or Tavistock, Buckland Abbey dates from the latter part of the thirteenth century, when it was founded and endowed by Amicia, dowager countess of Baldwin, Earl of Devon. The house suffered the fate of all similar establishments at the Dissolution, when its revenues were returned at £241 17s. 9½d. The Abbey Church was converted into a dwelling house by Sir Richard Grenville, who held the

property between the years 1542 and 1580; and is now chiefly of interest on account of its association with Drake, the renowned navigator and naval warrior, some of whose relics are still to be found amongst its treasures. The story of the house has been carefully and exhaustively compiled from the most reliable sources by Mr. Brooking Rowe.

From Buckland we may pass on to Tavistock, in many respects the most familiar of all the abbeys of Devonshire, on account of the connection therewith of Mrs. Bray, the fertile author of many local works. The remains, though picturesque, are utterly inadequate for the task of representing the former splendour of the buildings; and we must bring to bear upon them both a vivid imagination, and a wide knowledge of monastic institutions, if we would realize what they were like in the days of their glory. There is no reason to doubt the truth of the current report that this Abbey eclipsed every other religious house in Devonshire, as well in the extent and convenience, as in the magnificence of its buildings. The monastery, like so many others of which we have read, owed its foundation and site to a vision, and the ministry of an

angel; while its later honours included that of royal patronage. It is said to have been originally founded about the year 961, but the Danish ravages at the end of the century resulted in its complete destruction. It was afterwards rebuilt on a scale proportionate to the spirit of the age, and the liberal patronage of the Crown; while numerous men of note thenceforward filled its abbot's seat. The abbot had a seat in the House of Peers, and in 1458 was mitred. One of the abbots become bishop of the united Sees of Devon and Cornwall, while another was eventually made Archbishop of York, and had the honour of crowning the Conqueror King of England. At that time, according to the Domesday Book, the extent of the estates pertaining to Tavistock Abbey was far greater than that of any other religious house in Devonshire; while at the Dissolution it was valued at £902 5s. 7d. A bull was granted by Pope Leo X., which exempted the house from the jurisdiction of the bishop, the abbot being in his own person both baron and bishop, at once a lord spiritual and a lord temporal.

Tavistock Abbey is honourably associated with the art of printing, while the school which the monks established and taught was the direct

precursor of the present institution for the education of the young in that town. During the Norman period and the succeeding ages, the Abbey and domestic buildings underwent great changes, and witnessed numerous additions. Of the earliest portions few traces now remain, but the gatehouse is still, as frequently elsewhere, in excellent preservation, the upper room being used as a library. The main road runs through the archway, as was the case until recently at Worksop and some other places. During the last century, a "vandal named Saunders built on part of the site, and with the materials, the Abbey House, which is now the Bedford Hotel. The east gate, essentially of late twelfth-century work, with fifteenth-century additions, however, still remains; with the western gateway, commonly called Betsy Grimbald's Tower, the tradition being that a nun of that name was murdered there. There are also the refectory, now used as the Unitarian Chapel, its groined porch being converted into a dairy attached to the Bedford Hotel; a fragment of the north wall of the great Abbey Church, sometimes called Ordulph's Tomb, and at other times Childe's; and the boundary walls next the Tavy, with a tower which has

always been known as the Still House. The fragment of the Abbey Church is in the churchyard of the parish church of St. Eustatius ; but the site of the Abbey Church itself is now part of the public street." *Sic transit gloria mundi !*

We have already in these pages been reminded of the past glories of Crediton. Several bishops had their Cathedral here before Exeter became the head of the See, so that long before the days of the Conqueror it had its Minster and its complement of priests, though it was never apparently connected with either of the great orders of monks. As an institution which has been successively Cathedral, Minster, Collegiate, and Parish Church, the building has seen many changes and more than one dedication. From King Athelstan's charter to Crediton we learn that the original patron saint of the church was St. Mary. The Saxon Cathedral was replaced by the Collegiate Church of the Holy Cross, but an early document, which is still preserved, contains an allusion to the double dedication in the following words :—"We have confirmed the above-written indulgences, obtained by the diligence of our predecessors, bishops of Crediton and Exeter, at various times, for the church of the Holy Cross and the ever-

Virgin Mary of Crediton." There were formerly stalls here for eight canons and eighteen vicars. Its central tower is still a splendid example of English architecture, and its curious altarpiece represents Moses and Aaron receiving the law. The east window is worthy of examination, and those who appreciate the work of an honest historian, who has endeavoured to keep the past from altogether eluding our grasp, will also give a passing glance at the memorial window of Mr. R. J. King, who was interred in the adjoining graveyard in 1879.

Another of the few religious houses which had been erected in pre-Norman times will be found represented by a monastery at Buckfastleigh. In this instance history has repeated itself. When the monasteries were dissolved the Abbey of Buckfast and its adjacent lands, valued then at £500 within a fraction, passed to Sir Thomas Dennis. After remaining for about a century with his family and descendants, the property was acquired by Sir Richard Baker. A modern house was eventually erected on the site, and this is now "once more the home of monks of the Benedictine order, who are successfully engaged in its reconstruction upon the ancient lines." We could have

wished that something, more in harmony with the spirit of the age than monachism is, was being done on a spot where good work on these lines was done in an age when the system was a necessity and a boon.

From Domesday we learn that the Abbey was a flourishing institution before the advent of William the Conqueror, and that it was possessed of considerable endowments and belongings. The monks of Edward I.'s time affirmed that the manor of Zeal Monachorum was held by gift of Canute, but when the monastery was founded, and by whom it was originally endowed, we are unable to say. It seems to have been originally a Benedictine house, but after the establishment of the Cistercian order it became united thereto in the twelfth century. In the year 1236 the monks were admitted to the privileges of the Totnes institution, known as the Guild Merchant, which had been founded by the authority of a charter granted by John in 1215. On the back of one of the membership rolls still preserved is to be seen a memorandum of "an agreement between the burgesses of Totnes and the abbot and convent of Buckfast," permitting the abbot and monks who had been received into the Guild to buy, but not to sell. A similar

privilege was likewise extended to the brethren belonging to Torre Abbey.

Of this Abbey, which lies within the bounds of the fashionable resort known as Torquay, few remains are left. Those which have survived the wreck of time, and have escaped the vandal's pick and shovel, are of unusual interest. One of the few remaining crypts of which the county can boast was discovered here, and opened out during some restorations which were being carried out a few years ago. There are a few portions of the old Abbey Church still to be seen, including some remains of the tower and chancel, together with the entrance to the chapter-house. As at Tavistock, the gateway remains fairly intact, and forms a pleasing object within the grounds, which now contain a mansion which has been converted into an hotel. The gateway has been embattled for purposes of defence, and an examination of the western face shews it to belong generally to the Decorated period. The house was at one time among the richest in the county, and even ranked as the richest Premonstratensian Abbey in the kingdom. It was built in the reign of Henry II.; richly endowed by Lord Brewer, or, as the older form has it, De Briwere; dedicated to the Saviour,

the Trinity, and the Virgin; and, in 1196, settled by an abbot and six monks. In due time the manor and church of Woolborough, or Newton Abbot, came into its possession, with lands at Woodbury and Buckland, the tithes of the ancient St. Mary Church, manors of Kingswear and Ilsham, the church of Townstal, with jurisdiction over Dartmouth, and much besides. When the Dissolution came the returns were entered at £396 0s. 11d. per annum. It passed about a century later into the hands of the Carys, one of the more noteworthy of Devonshire families, which had long been seated at Cockington. The monks were men of business, hence their admission into the Guild Merchant of Totnes.

Among other houses we may mention Hartland Abbey, now a mansion, embodying the arched cloister built during the Decorated period by Abbot John of Exeter. The Abbey is said to have been originally founded in Saxon times by Gytha, the mother of Harold, who fell at Battle in attempting to repel the Norman invader. The famous Earl Godwin, so tradition affirms, was in great peril at sea, but being preserved from shipwreck, his devoted consort, to shew her gratitude to Almighty God, founded this Abbey, and dedi-

cated it to St. Nectan. In later days, it was re-endowed by one Geoffrey de Dinant, and converted into a house for Augustine monks. Other patrons bear the well-known names of Peverell, Boterell, and Tracy. The delightful seclusion of the spot renders it peculiarly attractive in the summer months, while the botanist will find much to delight and reward him, especially among the ferns.

Modbury, "one of the oldest market towns in the county," was formerly possessed of a priory, which was founded during the reign of Stephen, "by an ancestor of the Champernownes, as a cell to the Abbey of St. Peter-sur-Dive, Normandy. When the alien houses were suppressed, this passed at first to Tavistock Abbey, but afterwards to Eton College." Otterton, too, had its priory, which, like that of Modbury, was merely a cell attached to a monastery in Normandy, and making provision for four monks only. A few scanty remains are yet to be seen to tell of what has been, and remind us of the changes which all things mundane undergo. A Cluniac Priory was founded by Judhel de Totnes, at Barnstaple, and dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene. Its yearly income at the time of the Dissolution was estimated

at £129 15s. 8d. It is specially worthy of mention here, however, because it is connected with one of the most interesting events in the recent annals of antiquarian research in Devonshire. A few years ago the remains of the chapel of the priory, dating from the twelfth century, were found "in the main walls of a couple of ancient, but much modernized, dwellings, so perfect as to enable its plan, which is somewhat peculiar—on the basilica type—to be distinctly traced." To the same Judhel we also probably owe the Priory of St. Mary at Totnes, some portions of which still remain, and are used as the Guildhall and dwelling house.

And now, having visited some of the less noteworthy of the monastic buildings, it remains to turn our attention again to two or three which have made a greater mark. We find at Plympton, for example, remains of an ancient priory. A dwelling house, formed out of the refectory, preserves for us the ancient Norman crypt, while a few fragments of the once magnificent church may be found adjoining the parish church of St. Mary. Here Warelwast, nephew of William the Conqueror, and first Norman bishop of the See of Exeter, who is said to have resigned his post on

account of blindness, was buried. Warelwast suppressed the earlier monastery which he found here, in 1121, and founded in its stead an Augustinian priory, which in time came to be the most wealthy monastic institution in this part of the country. When the end came, thanks to the liberal endowments and benefactions of the Valletorts, Redverses, and others, its annual income amounted to upwards of nine hundred pounds. The earliest institution dated, however, from the ninth century in all probability, and was therefore a Saxon foundation. At the time of Warelwast it consisted of a dean and four canons, together with a corresponding number of female inmates. It was the presence of the latter which scandalized the Norman bishop, who thought that men given up to so holy a life should for ever foreswear the pleasures of the matrimonial estate. It is not for me to decide whether or not the life which these monks were living was in harmony with the requirements of the moral law, but it seems evident by the action of their superior that they were guilty of a breach of the canonical law, which, alas! has too often been put first.

Newenham, "the one Cistercian house of Devon which has the least to shew for its former great-

ness," is situated a short distance south of Axminster, on the road to Seaton. The trifling remains will be found in an orchard reached by a pathway on the right through some fields. Some of the pillars with their arches, and the east window of the church, still remain *in situ;* but the mansion at Ashe, famous as the birthplace of the great Duke of Marlborough, must be visited if the stones of the Abbey are to be seen. The mansion having suffered severely during the Civil Wars, the owner ruthlessly utilized Newenham as a quarry, carrying away everything that might be of service to him in restoring his residence. Hence its present inglorious appearance. From the Cartulary of Glastonbury, preserved in the Bodleian Library, we learn that the manor and hundred of Axminster, which belonged to the Crown at the time of the Conquest, were granted in 1246 to the Abbey of Newenham by Reginald de Mohun. From this we gather that the Abbey had already been founded, but the event was a very recent one. During this year the cemetery was first consecrated, the site of the Abbey having been blessed the year before, when, in 1245, William, or his brother Reginald de Mohun, set the plan in operation. In connection with this

institution we find a curious custom. A purchase of land having been made for the sum of thirty marks, it was further agreed that the monastery yearly supply the vendor, or his representatives, one pair of white gloves on the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist.

The foundation stone of the Abbey "Church of the Blessed Mary of Newenham" was laid in September, 1254, Reginald de Mohun described as "fundator of this Abbey," William, his brother, and one Wymond de Ralegh, being mentioned as assisting at the function, the five stones being laid in the presence of Henry the Abbot, and all the convent, in honour of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Mary — Virgin, and all the Saints. Reginald gave directions requiring that his body be buried before the high altar of the same sanctuary, and in less than three years after he had gone the way of all flesh. The documents relating to this once famous house are very numerous, and the local historians have used them well. The arms of the abbey appear to be those of the founder. As in many other cases, the common seal consisted of a vesica representing the Virgin Mother seated under a canopy with her first born son upon her knees. On either side was a shield bearing the

cross of de Mohun and the Maunche. A complete lists of abbots from 1246 till 1539 has been preserved.

Ford Abbey, about seven miles from Axminster, might justly have claimed attention here, on the ground that during the centuries of its actual life as a Cistercian monastery it was within the county of Devonshire. Its story is told along with that of other houses belonging to this county, but as the house is now included within the boundaries of Dorsetshire, and its history is a lengthy one, we must reluctantly pass it by with the simple statement that it was founded in 1141, under circumstances bordering on the romantic; while the roll of its abbots contains the names of several notable men, including the Confessor of King John, and Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury.

The only other house which I am able to mention is Dunkeswell, one of the five Cistercian abbeys which Devonshire formerly possessed, and one of the trio which occupied the eastermost corner of the county. The Lord Brewer, or De Briwere, of whom we have already spoken, purchased the manor of Dunkeswell in the last year of the twelfth century, and within the course of a couple of years, viz., in 1201, the abbey was

founded. Besides being endowed by its founder, who gave his lands and the advowsons of the churches of Dunkeswell and Wolford, the house was further enriched with numerous grants and donations from neighbouring landowners and patrons; and a colony of monks was brought over from Ford for the purpose of establishing the Cistercian rule. We are, however, in ignorance respecting the name of the first abbot, and whether or not he was promoted from a lower post at Ford to fill the more honourable one at Dunkeswell.

As the founder of Newenham had directed his body to be laid within the church there, so De Briwere, though he had established more than one other religious house in Devonshire, selected the choir of Dunkeswell Abbey Church as the place of interment for himself, and probably for his wife, and hither his remains were brought in 1227. The abbot was cited before the bishop of the diocese in 1260 for having removed the font and bells from the church at Doddeton, and was required to re-open the sanctuary, and conduct daily service therein. The abbey adopted the arms of its founder, while the common seal bears a representation of the Blessed Virgin.

Of the remaining minsters and monasteries, abbeys and priories, which once existed in Devonshire, I have not space to write. What they were, and where they may be found, will be gathered from the concluding note, for which I am indebted to that indefatigable scholar, Mr. R. N. Worth.

Twenty-four religious houses (he says) were suppressed in Devon by Henry VIII. These were Tavistock Abbey; St. Nicholas' Priory, Exeter; Cowick Priory; Polsloe Priory (nuns); Totnes Priory; Pilton Priory — Benedictine. Plympton Priory; Hartland Abbey; Frithelstock Priory; Canonsleigh Priory (canonesses); Cornworthy Priory—Augustinian. Ford Abbey; Newenham Abbey; Buckfast Abbey; Buckland Abbey; Dunkeswell Abbey—Cistercian. St. James' Priory, Exeter; St. Mary Magdalene, Barnstaple; Carswell Priory—Cluniac. Franciscan Convents at Exeter and Plymouth. Dominican Convent, Exeter. Carmelite Convent, Plymouth. Tor Abbey—Nosbertine or Præmonstratensian. The Benedictine Priories at Olterton and Modbury had been suppressed in previous reigns, the property of the first going to Zion house, of the latter to Eton. Concerning the

Dominican house at Plymouth there are no details ; and we are not certain when it ceased to exist. Here, however, is a roll-call, to do justice to which a volume of no mean dimensions would be required.

Bygone Worthies.

FEW counties have produced a greater number of men who have made their mark than Devonshire. Mariners and soldiers, artists and authors, discoverers and explorers, statesmen and poets, have come in goodly numbers from this fair corner of the land. I will not attempt to decide which is the greatest. The modern socialist would raise Kingsley on a lofty pedestal; while the mariner would take Sir Francis Drake as his hero. I confess that not one of the many noble men whose names appear on the roll-call of the illustrious appeals to me more powerfully than does Sir Joshua Reynolds. The reason is not far to seek. He was not merely a lover of art, and a painter of the first rank, but he was a man who had a clear insight into the principles upon which all art—literary as well as pictorial—is based. Hence his *Discourses on Art* are invaluable. One has only to leave out the word Art, and replace it by sculpture, preaching, composing, observing, or any other term, and the Discourses are still as true as they are of art. He who would make a

sermon, or write a book, on the lines of these Lectures, would produce as perfect a result as he would who applied the principles to the production of a picture. Hence my regard for Reynolds. He aimed at truth. Before his day art scarcely existed in England, but since the delivery of his famous presidential addresses it has moved onwards by leaps and bounds.

The great artist was a clergyman's son. How many noteworthy men have owed their all to a similar fact. The sons of the clergy have greatly augmented our lists of poets, painters, botanists, historians, philosophers, and politicians. The air of the manse is congenial to the development of hereditary genius. The tenth child of the Rev. Samuel Reynolds, of Plympton, Joshua first saw the light on July 16th, 1723; and as his father was pedagogue as well as preacher, the boy received his mental outfit at the paternal hands. Reynolds is another illustration of the way in which men thwart the wishes of their parents in the matter of profession. He was destined to be a doctor, just as J. S. Blackie was set apart by his father for the law. As the latter became a professor of languages, the former became a professor of art. He had shown a love for drawing while

still a child, and often busied himself in his spare moments by making copies of illustrations found in the books which his father's library contained.

The age of seventeen is frequently decisive, and as at this period of youth the lad's taste for art was strong, his father wisely decided that he should become a painter instead of a doctor. He was, therefore, placed under the most eminent artist of the day in England; but found abundant reason in after years to condemn the system of teaching which Hudson adopted. The pupil shewed himself so apt that his master's jealousy was aroused, and in two years their connexion was severed. He spent the next few years in his native county, and while developing the rules of his art, gave himself up to careful thought. His calm reflection soon led him to see the faults of the prevailing style, and he therefore resolved to visit the Continent, in order to study the great masters. Like a great many others, he felt a sense of disappointment when he first gazed upon the wonderful productions of Raffaelle and others. He found himself in the midst of works, whose execution he did not comprehend, because he was ignorant of the principles by which the artists had been guided in their studies. When he began to

copy them, however, he became conscious of the growth of new perceptions and a new taste. He avoided slavish imitations, filled his mind with ideas, gave his hand continual play and exercise, and having caught the inspiration of genius from his masters, endeavoured to reproduce their conceptions. By 1760 he had become the most famous portrait painter of the day, and was earning as much as £6,000 a year. He was elected the first President of the Royal Academy—an institution which was founded in 1768, and was opened on the 1st day of the following year. It was then that he received the honour of knighthood, and began his custom of delivering his famous discourses. These were read every other year from the opening of the Academy down to 1790, and are as fresh and valuable to-day as they were on the occasion of their first delivery. He was no orator, though his compositions are lucid as the day. After his last address was given he was taken ill, and having borne his affliction with singular fortitude for two years, he fell asleep on February 23rd, 1792, and was buried in St. Paul's Churchyard.

Next to Reynolds I would place the precocious, erratic, opium-loving, poet-philosopher, Samuel

Taylor Coleridge. What a strange life he lived! Another product of a parsonage, Devonshire has seldom given birth to a mind of such wonderful capacity, or a child so wayward. With all his faults we love him still. He was one of the problems of his age. Some of his utterances are mystic; much of his philosophy was a jingle of words, and of a great deal of his poetry it is impossible for anyone to say what it means. Yet, when all the chaff has been winnowed away, the pure gold separated from the dross, and the wisdom purged of bathos, we have a large residuum of what is valuable and enduring left behind. We cannot by any means endorse his own verdict about his best work. Some of that which he regarded with the greatest pride has already been set aside as valueless, while some of his writings which were little prized by himself have grown in popularity year by year. His was not a practical mind. His biography is of never failing interest, and the masterly study of his life by Brandl should be in the hands of everyone who would know the strength and weakness of the Coleridgean character. Of his poetry it is needless to speak. Tender, wide of range, weird, unfinished, it is full of those surprises which are

inevitably associated with genius. His *Aids to Reflection*, and some of his other prose volumes, have gone through many editions, and some of his dicta will live as long as the English tongue endures.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge was born at Ottery St. Mary, October 21st, 1772. His father, the Rev. John Coleridge, like the father of Sir Joshua Reynolds, was both vicar of the parish, and head-master of the Grammar School of that town. He was no mean scholar, and created some amusement by proposing to simplify the study of Latin through the change of the term ablative into quale-quare-quidditive! Before he was ten years of age young Coleridge was entered as a pupil of Christ's Hospital, and if he here made sundry acquaintances whose names he would gladly forget, one at least amongst his schoolfellows became an ardent friend and admirer—the gentle and genial Lamb.

Coleridge had the honour and joy to be associated in later years with Wordsworth and Southey, and especially in conjunction with the former did some valuable work; but his chequered life ran its course with little reference to his native place, and to this day his name is left without a

memorial in the place of his birth. He stands out as perhaps the most striking illustration of the insanity of genius which Devonshire has produced.

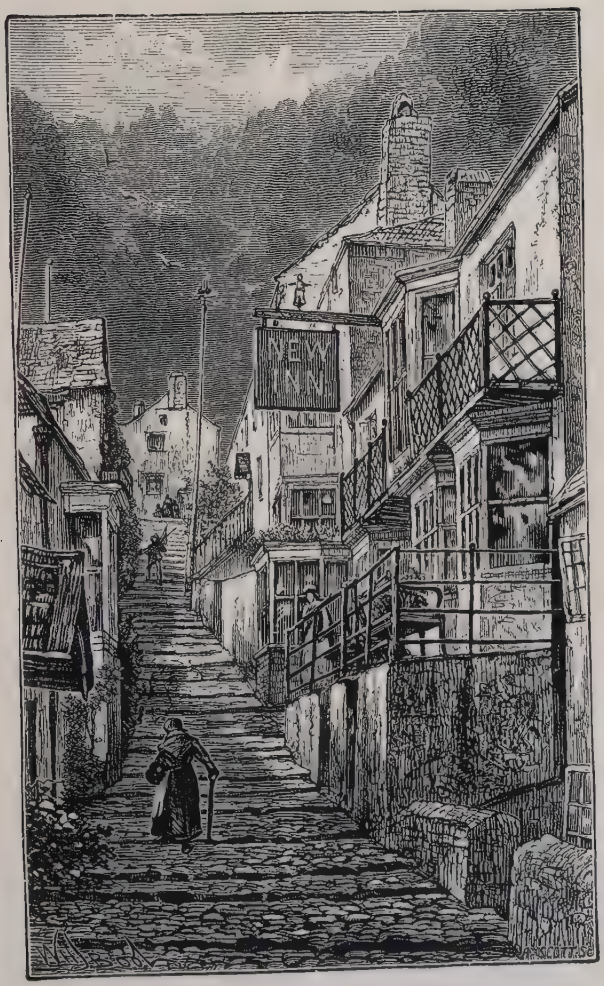
To the same category—as the offspring of the parsonage—belongs the Rev. Charles Kingsley. One can easily understand how the magic influences of Clovelly would operate upon a temperament such as his. There is, however, no need to dwell upon the life-story of this notable man, seeing that his biography has been so recently read by all who have any literary tastes. Let us go back to earlier days. Probably no family has more largely interwoven its name and deeds with the history of Bygone Devon than that of the Drakes. And of all the noteworthy men and remarkable women which have borne this name, none stands out more prominently than does the redoubtable Sir Francis, the hero of the Spanish Armada. Like many another man who has made his mark, Francis Drake was born in a cottage. His birthday, too, like that of other notables, is lost in oblivion, and we cannot certainly ascertain even his birth-year, though it may with some probability be referred to 1539. Crowndale, where he first saw the light, is about

a mile to the south-west of Tavistock. While tradition affirms that his father was an honest mariner, history rather assigns to him the rôle of a clergyman. Such being the case, Drake joins hands with Reynolds, Coleridge, and Kingsley, and goes to prove the truth of the remarks already made respecting the potency of the parsonage.

Exeter, as Mr. Worth reminds us, has a marvellous muster-roll of worthies. Archbishop Langton, the framer of Magna Charta, is reputably of Exonian birth. Archbishop Baldwin, who died at Tyre, in 1191, while engaged on a crusade, was certainly a native of the city; and so was his contemporary, Josephus Iscanus, "the Swan of Isca." Then we have Cardinal Robert Pullen, John Hoker, and his far more famous nephew, Richard Hooker. I fancy, however, that despite their titles, degrees, and city cradling, most of these men are less widely known than many who were born without a silver spoon in their mouth, and had to force their way to fame and fortune against a stream of difficulty and adversity such as few have to encounter to-day. Better known to many will be such names as Blundell, a native of Tiverton; Westcote, the author of the "View of Devonshire in 1630," who was born at Raddon,

near Crediton; and especially John Jewel, the famous bishop of Salisbury. He was born at Berry Narbor in 1522, and the old house may still be found among the hills if the tourist will ramble out from Ilfracombe. To no other man has a greater honour fallen. It was the sermons of Jewel which usually found a place, under lock and chain, on the reading desk of the church during the seventeenth century. These chained books are yet to be seen in sundry places, and afford an excellent insight into the condition of the people, religiously and educationally, three centuries and more ago.

The Grenvilles, concerning whom so much is said by Kingsley in "Westward Ho!" occupy an important place, not only in the county history, but in that of the nation as well. The tourist will find it interesting to visit the church at Bideford. Here, in a place rendered memorable, among other things, as the whilom curacy of James Hervey, author of "Theron and Aspasia," "Meditations among the Tombs," and other works, we may see, not only an admirable example of a Norman font, but the well-preserved and instructive tomb and recumbent effigy of Thomas Grenville, a relative of the more famous Sir Richard,



STREET IN CLOVELLY.

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"one of the brightest stars in the Elizabethan naval galaxy, who closed a noble life in the stoutest sea fight ever waged." Just as the great Apostle, when nearing his end, exclaimed, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith," so the noble hero passed triumphantly away with a joyful and quiet mind, exclaiming, "I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, that hath fought for his country, Queen, religion, and honour."

At Portledge, near Abbotsham, a hamlet between Bideford and Clovelly, one passes the home of the Coffins, of which family more than one has risen to distinction and honour. Among the number was one, Sir William, who had a very summary way of dealing with matters. On one occasion he threatened to bury a priest alive in the grave which had been prepared for a poor parishioner, because the offender declined to read the burial service over the deceased until his cow had been surrendered as fee. The act is said to have resulted in a reform, not before it was needed, in the matter of mortuary fees. The doughty knight was also Master of the Horse at the coronation of Anne Boleyn, and was present at The Field of the Cloth of Gold. Near the parish church of

Abbotsham one may observe an ancient oak which has succumbed to the storms of life, and by its side a youthful scion planted in the Jubilee year.

Clovelly, as the reader of Kingsley's most famous novel will remember, was famous as the ancestral home of the Carys from the days of Richard II. till the beginning of last century. The mansion adjoins the church, and a "lord's door" is still in existence and use on the north side of the chancel; while several of the Cary family lie interred in the sanctuary, or have tablets and memorials to their memory. Among the more famous members of the family were Sir John Cary, Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1387, and his son, John, who was nominated Bishop of Exeter in 1419, but was never installed. I have been unable to find any allusion to, or explanation of, the following curious fact. On the floor of the chancel is a memorial to George Cary, in which he is represented holding a bishop's staff, though the reverend gentleman never rose higher than the office of dean. It is affirmed that he twice refused a bishopric, but it is not explained why, if such was the case he carries a crozier. Clearly all the problems relating to old-time Devon are not yet solved.

To the student of Hebrew and the literature of the Old Testament few names are more familiar than that of Kennicott, whose Codices the commentators and lexicographers of any earlier generation than ours were never weary of quoting. Though little known by others, this truly learned man has won for himself an enduring fame for his industry and research. He was born at Totnes, on April 4th, 1718, his father being the parish clerk, and the direct representative of a lone line of Kennicotts, one at least of whom had risen to the distinction of Mayor of his native town. Benjamin was educated in King Edward's Grammar School, and developed a considerable talent for singing and bell-ringing. A poem composed by him attracted attention, and led to his being sent to Oxford, where, step by step, he climbed the ladder of life and the tree of knowledge, devoting himself especially to the study of theology and the language of the Old Testament. He examined large numbers of MSS. of the Sacred Text, and inspired others with his own zeal for their study, thus laying the foundation for a thorough revision of the Hebrew Text. He received a pension of £200 from the Crown, and, in 1761, was handed his diploma of Doctor in

Divinity. He died at the early age of sixty-six, on September 18th, 1783; but it was many years after his decease that his labours bore the fruit which it was hoped would follow. At last, however, the day arrived when a body of Christian scholars was found ready to take in hand the great task of revising the Scriptures, and to-day we are enjoying the advantages of the arduous labours of this devoted divine.

How much might be written about the painters of Devonshire—Eastlake, Northcote, Prout, Haydon, and others; or her literary men, as, for example, Sir John Bowring, the eminent orientalist, Praed, and Gifford; or her men of science. Pengelly has recently been biographed; Sir Samuel Baker is well-known as an intrepid explorer and sportsman, as well as an investigator; while John Yonge, Thomas Fowler, Newcomin, and Sir W. S. Harris, have swollen the ranks of the Royal Society. Among the men who have made their mark in different departments of the legal profession, it will suffice to name Lords Chief Justice Coleridge and Fortescue—divided in time by centuries, and thus linking the present with the past,—Karslake, Dunning (first Lord Ashburton), Pollard, Judge of Common Pleas,

and Sir W. Follett. Cookworthy, the native of Kingsbridge, who discovered kaolin and petuntse —Chinese names for certain materials employed in the manufacture of china-ware—in Devonshire, and made china-manufacture a possibility in his own neighbourhood, is worthy of honourable mention; so is the Rev. W. Buckland, Dean of Westminster, who personally did much for science, and transmitted his tastes to posterity. But time would fail to tell of Bodley, founder of the Bodleian Library; Carew, king of the beggars; Copleston, Bishop of Landaff; the Courtenays, earls and bishops; Ford, the dramatist; Robert Hawker, the vicar of Morwenstow; Bishop Stapledon, and many others.

In conclusion, we must note that more than one man has a right to rank among the worthies of Devon, not indeed in virtue of his birth, but by reason of service rendered, and honourable connection with the county. *Non ubi nascor, sed ubi pascor*, sometimes decides a point of this kind. Foremost among such we must name Myles Coverdale, some time Bishop of Exeter, and translator of the Holy Scriptures. Born in 1488, or thereabouts, at Coverham, in Yorkshire, he studied at Cambridge, and was for a time

resident on the Continent, where his translation was published in 1535. Edward VI. shewed him favour, and in 1549, during the rebellion in the West of England, he acted as army chaplain with such efficiency and zeal that he was appointed coadjutor, and ultimately successor, to Bishop Veysey. On the death of Edward he fell under the ban of Mary, and though he escaped from her persecuting hand, the later years of his life were passed amidst much poverty and pain. It has been often averred that he resided at the palace at Paignton, a question upon which we have already touched in an earlier chapter. Bishop Veysey himself might also claim attention here. A native of Sutton Coldfield, near Birmingham, he bequeathed to his native town a park, which to-day ranks among the most popular of Black Country resorts, while he has also left his mark in the diocese of Exeter. These must suffice, however, as illustrations of what might be adduced.

A Peep at Kent's Cavern.

AMONG the many relics of bygone times which abound in this county, few equal and none surpass in interest the remarkable remains discovered a few years ago in the caves on the shore near Torquay. To the late Mr. Pengelly, F.R.S., we are principally indebted for our knowledge of Kent's Cavern, and from what he and others have written, as well as from my own researches, the following brief notice is compiled. I had the honour of Mr. Pengelly's personal acquaintance at the time when the subject was occupying so much of the attention of scientific men, and at the meetings of the Devonshire Association was privileged to hear him expound his theories, and see him slash at his adversaries in a way which was perhaps more vigorous than elegant. He was a robust and honest man, albeit somewhat hypercritical: always ready to detect the weak points in another's armour; but, as usual with men of that particular mental cast, very sensitive if it were suggested that

he had a vulnerable place in his heel. Few, save those who have worked either at the literature of ancient cave-dwellings and deposits, or at the bibliography of Devonshire, can form any idea how large a place the subject before us has occupied in the literature of the last quarter of a century. Many of the ablest scientists of our own and other lands have either visited the Cavern or expatiated on its marvels, and it will therefore be impossible for me to do more than give a brief resumé of what has thus been done.

A great deal of excitement, and not a little bitterness, was engendered in the days which immediately followed the discovery, owing to the calculations on the antiquity of man, which were based upon the deposits in the cave. It had been customary to regard the figures in the margins of our Bibles as inspired statements respecting the age of Adam, and anyone who dare assert that man had lived on the earth for upwards of 5,000 years was scouted as a heretic. In some places the stalagmitic floor, composed of carbonate of lime deposited during the course of ages by drippings from the roof of the cave, was twelve feet thick. This enormous layer must have taken ages to form, yet underneath it were

TORQUAY.

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found flint implements and other traces of human habitation and handiwork, which shewed that before the stalagmite was deposited, or during the period of its deposition, man had made the cave his abode. In the same cave, as is usual elsewhere, bones of the cave bears, the lion, fox, and other wild animals, were found, indicative of a condition of things in England such as cannot have existed for some thousands of years.

Above the floor of stalagmite, again, were found, embedded in cave earth, teeth and bones of the rhinoceros, hyena, Irish elk, reindeer, elephant, horse, and cave bear; while among these were intermixed needles and bodkins of bone, harpoons, chipped flint instruments, and other human remains, similar in shape and form to those employed by the North American Indians and other races. Those who have never explored these ancient abodes of man can scarcely conceive how exciting and fascinating a thing it is to get face to face with such relics of an unknown past. I have stood within the caves of Derbyshire and elsewhere, and seen the remains of the fire of our savage ancestors, beside which still lay the smooth stones with which he made his water boil and cooked his food. Similar relics were found in

Kent's Cavern upwards of twenty years ago. In one place, at least, a layer of burnt wood was discovered, and along with these were remains which suggested that the uncultured inhabitants of the cave had cooked and feasted on animal flesh. Sir J. W. Dawson, who seems to fear for the ark of God if any old tradition be given up, is peculiarly unwilling to allow of the conclusions to which many students of the past have arrived, from a careful study of the facts which the discovery of this cavern and its pre-historic relics has suggested. He does, however, confess that the minds of British geologists have been profoundly impressed thereby in relation to the great antiquity of man, and admits that this cave, and its neighbour at Brixham, have, more than any other post-glacial monuments, shewn the existence of some animals, now extinct, up to the human age. We admit that Mr. Pengelly's reasonings, from the rate at which the stalagmite was deposited at a certain period, as well as from the rate of erosion of the neighbouring valleys, may be very erroneous, from the simple fact that the rate of progress would certainly differ at different periods; but whatever other view we may take of the matter, it is perfectly certain that we can no

longer regard the age of man as limited by a few thousand years.

It is interesting to speculate as to the way in which the various animals found their way to these marvellous caverns. They are now by the sea-side, and it is assumed that the sea has always been very near them. Did the cave bears, then, float thitherward on ice-packs (which, as they reached our shores, became detached from the main body of Arctic ice), subsisting on fish and such animal matter as the sea was perpetually casting up and stranding on the shore? Did the hyena and other beasts of prey make these caves their dens by day, and prowl forth by night in search of the animals which inhabited the surrounding forests and supplied their daily wants? And if so, did the early man wage war with the lion, hyena, rhinoceros, and other huge or surly brutes, with the meagre weapons which he then possessed? If so, the chase must surely have been an exciting one, and man must, we should suppose, often have had the worst of the struggle. If the modern weapons scarce suffice to put him on an equality with some of the higher brutes, how unequal to us must the strife between a lion or an elephant, a rhinoceros or hyena, and a

stone-armed man appear. But the hunters of those days were doubtless a sturdy race, and they would make up in muscle, sureness of aim, and force of percussion, what they lacked by reason of their ignorance of powder and shot.

One of the most remarkable points to be noted in relation to the cave near Torquay, is the fact that evidence is afforded by its treasures of the existence of man in Devonshire from the age known as paleolithic, through the neolithic to the bronze age, and then on to the age of iron. Thus there is a practically unbroken chain from the present time right back to the old stone age. Relics from this early period have also been found in the valley of the Axe, in the beds of several Devonshire rivers and streams, on the moors, in the peat bogs, and among the remains of the submerged forests in Barnstaple Bay.

You enter the Kent's Hole by a low, narrow passage, some seven feet wide and five feet high, and find yourself within a vast cavern something like two hundred yards in length. The main chamber is surrounded by a labyrinth of winding corridors and smaller caverns, the floor of which is in many places still covered by stalagmite; while stalactites, formed by the perpetual dripping of

water from the roof, charged with lime, held in solution, glitter above you.

OTHER INTERESTING CAVES,

besides those at Torquay and Brixham, exist in Devonshire, and are worthy of inspection. In the limestone caverns at Oreston, in the parish of Plymstock, bones were found before Kent's Cavern had been discovered, and it was this discovery, as Mr. Worth remarks, that formed the subject of careful investigation among scientific men, and lead to a new departure in geological research. The limestone cliffs here reach a remarkable height; and the cave, which is among the quarries whence the materials for the magnificent Plymouth breakwater were obtained, is seventy feet wide, twenty feet long, and ten feet high. One writer has remarked that a complete museum of fossil bones and teeth, belonging to the elephant, hyena, tiger, and other beasts of prey, has been found here; while the jaw of a horse, encrusted with stalagmite, was also discovered in the floor.

In 1880, I visited the Pixie's Cavern, at Chudleigh, but, alas! the pixies had all fled to haunts which are less accessible to the fumes of

the cigar and the brandy bottle. These modern abominations the pixy cannot away with. The cavern is still worthy a visit, despite the loss of romance; and if to-day the visitor cannot bring away an elephant's tusk, or the tooth of an hyena worn down with the constantly grinding of bones (as is the case with a specimen in my own possession), he may be interested to learn that here also cave mammalian remains have been unearthed.

Thus even the dens and caves of the earth are found capable of yielding up treasures for the enlightenment of man, and by such means is it that we are by degrees arriving at the truth respecting the ascent of man and his age upon the earth. Few chapters in his history have a greater fascination.

Literary Guides and Charts.

THOSE who have so far familiarized themselves with the peculiarities of the past in Devonshire, may perhaps be grateful for some hints, in conclusion, respecting the best authors and works to be consulted, with a view to a yet fuller acquaintance with the subjects which have been touched upon in the foregoing pages. It may be said, at the outset, that we are indebted chiefly to some half-dozen writers for all that is accessible to the general reader respecting the archæology, antiquities, folk-lore, and church-lore, of Devonshire. We may specially mention Worth, Davidson, Wright, Freeman, Ellacombe, Oliver, and Bray.

It is now just half a century since a first attempt was made to compile a bibliography of Devonshire. In the year 1847 there appeared in the *Literary Chronicle*, a catalogue of books relating to this county, which may be said to have paved the way for a fuller, more accurate, and scientific compilation. Yet the work progressed very

tardily. In 1852, it is true, Davidson published, at Exeter, a Devonshire bibliography; but thirty years after (1882) Mr. Wright explained the need of an up-to-date publication, and three years later (1885) wrote a plea for an accurate bibliography. He was himself meanwhile working diligently at the *Western Antiquary*, and the Plymouth Library, and from the pages of the former, and the local section in the catalogue of the latter, the student will be able to obtain many aids in his investigation. During 1885, and the following years, Dredge published an account of the Devonshire booksellers; following up his work, in 1889-90, by publishing the first and second sheaves of his bibliography. In 1892, Wright issued his catalogue of the Lending Library, in connection with the Borough Free Library of Plymouth, and year by year since then the annual report of the Borough Library has contained a list of additions to county literature. With these works before him, the enquirer will be able to do all he requires.

It is quite needless for me, in a popular work like this, to give a systematic digest of books on the Devonshire of the past. I shall be content, therefore, to note some of the more remarkable of

the volumes, which have been, or may be, consulted for a full and impartial survey of old-time traditions, antiquities, and lore. He who would know the lives of the most famous men of the past, must consult the classical work of Prince, entitled "Worthies of Devon." I refer to the quarto edition of 1810, in one volume. Prince himself, and later worthies, have been remembered by other biographers, and the Transactions of the Devonshire Association are a perfect treasure-house for this, and almost every other department of local research. The volumes of Transactions extend over a good part of the last half century, and are absolutely indispensable. They appear year by year in a large octavo volume, and are issued to subscribers for the year. In this connection I may mention Clarke's "Remarks on Devon Worthies," issued in 1874.

Devonshire has been often "visited," delineated, and described. Thus we have the "Visitation of Devonshire in 1564." This may be seen, with additions from the earlier "Visitation of 1531," in Colby's edition, in one volume, octavo, 1881. The "Visitation of 1620" is found in the sixth volume of the Harleian Society's publications, and appeared in one volume, octavo, in 1872.

In *Magna Britannia* we have Lyson's "Devonshire," in two quarto volumes (1822), and between it and the appearance of Worth's "History of Devonshire," in 1886, many other volumes of various kinds saw the light. Mr. Worth's volume is, however, the handiest compendium we possess, and though not free from slight blemishes, is by a master hand. Indeed the author is one of the most indefatigable of Devon's literary sons. His name must ever be held in reverence for the splendid service he has rendered, not only to literature, but also to science. Many of our most accurate reports on the geology of Devonshire are from his pen; while his contributions to the history and archæology of the county are legion. Leaving his scientific memoirs unnamed, we may mention his work on "Prehistoric Devon," published at Plymouth, 1881-2; his contribution on "Saxon Devon," in the Transactions of the Plymouth Institute, in 1882-3; his "History of Devonport," published in 1870, and his "Guide to Devonshire" (1880). Mr. Worth is our leading authority on all that relates to historic Plymouth and its antiquities; in evidence of which I may mention that I have notes of some twenty memoirs and volumes from his pen

relating to Plymouth and the surrounding district alone.

Before we pass away from Devonshire as a whole, however, to consider some local details, it may be well to mention one or two other volumes which contain much useful information. These include Britton and Brayley's "Topographical and Historical Description of Devon," and Polwhele's "Historical Views of Devonshire." Many of the views must, however, be received with caution.

The monastic houses of Devonshire have been carefully treated, as have the ecclesiastical edifices also. In 1779, Mr. Jones published an account of "Religious Houses in Devon and Cornwall." Chanter and Rowe followed at a long interval, the first with an account of Cluniac houses in Devon, published at Plymouth, and the other with details respecting Cistercian houses in the same county. This also was published in Plymouth, in 1887. Davidson has very carefully studied the respective monasteries, and those of his papers which have not been reprinted, or are inaccessible in any other form, may be read with great profit in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association. Then we have Oliver's "Monasteries of Devon-

shire," issued in 1841, at Exeter, and followed, in 1857, by his "History of the Catholic Religion."

Under the heading of antiquities we find such works as the following:—Shortt's "Druidical Remains in Devonshire," published at Exeter, with which may be compared many of the chapters in Mrs. Bray's work on the "Borders of the Tamar and Tavy." It will suffice to say that all such writings must be received with caution. With "Devonshire Antiquities," by Goose, we may also compare a volume on "Monumental and Memorial Sculpture of Devon," by Rogers, published at Exeter, in 1877. Chanter's "First Saxon Devonshire Bishopric," introduces us to questions relating purely to the Church, and in order to know the churches of Devon we must either visit them personally, or consult the Transactions of the Archæological and Antiquarian Society. The volumes issued by this society are absolutely invaluable to the church antiquary. Here again, in a lesser degree, the Transactions of the Devonshire Association must be consulted, as well as such volumes as Hine's "Moorland and Border Churches of Devon," published at Plymouth.

Passing by Westcote's "View of Devonshire in 1630," of which a reprint appeared in Exeter in

1845; Kerslake's "Mercians in Devon and Cornwall," a volume on "Bygone Days in Devon and Cornwall," and many other miscellaneous collections, we may notice one or two accessible volumes dealing with individual cities, towns, or districts. Foremost we may place the volume on Exeter, by Professor Freeman, in the Historic Towns' Series. Exeter has naturally occupied much of the attention of antiquaries and historians. Justice can only be done to this interesting city by a lengthened stay in the vicinity, with ready access to her archives and libraries. The "History and Description of the City of Exeter," by Jenkins, and the "History of the City of Exeter," by Oliver, may be mentioned as supplying much useful information. Numerous modern guide books also give a compendious account of the city generally, while the volumes devoted to the architectural and other features of the cathedral are legion. I may mention two:—"The History and Antiquities of Exeter Cathedral, with Anecdotes of its Bishops," by J. Britton, a quarto volume with numerous plates (ed. 1826). "Exeter Cathedral and its Restoration," a volume by T. B. Worth, with photographic illustrations and plan, in octavo. In 1877 appeared an interesting

volume by J. Cossins, entitled, "Reminiscences of Exeter Fifty Years Since" (post octavo); while, in 1886, Mr. Commins, the well-known Exeter bookseller, issued an admirable facsimile of the rare map of Exeter in the sixteenth century, which had appeared in Braun's "Civitates Orbis Terarrum." This very interesting plan of the ancient city shows it surrounded by its walls with the gateways standing; Rougemont Castle, with moat and drawbridge; the northern tower of the cathedral with a spire, since removed; the gateways of the cathedral close are clearly shewn, and Old Exe Bridge, built upon piers, now superseded by the more modern structure, forms an interesting object in the foreground. In 1863, a volume appeared from the pen of J. Gidley, containing notices of royal visits to Exeter from A.D. 49 to A.D. 1863. Lastly, in relation to the Cathedral City, I may mention Crocker's "Sketches of Old Exeter," with descriptive text, 1886; Harding's "Ecclesiastical Edifices of Exeter," in two parts; Hoker's "Antique Description and Account of Exeter," published in the city in 1765; Izacke's "Antiquities of Exeter," 1723; Parfitt's "Archæological Discoveries in Exeter," 1878; Oliver's "Bishops of Exeter and History of the

Cathedral," 1861; Freeman's "Architectural History of Exeter Cathedral," (Exeter 1873, and later editions); Hewett's "History of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter," and his "History and Description of Exeter Cathedral" (Exeter 1852). There is also an account by Dymond of the "Heraldic Discovery in Exeter Cathedral," published at Plymouth in 1877; Fulford's "Remarks on Stained Glass in Exeter Cathedral," which appeared in 1845, and a "Guide to the Cathedral," by S. W., published in 1839, with many other similar volumes far too numerous to mention. In the new series of volumes dealing with our national cathedrals, Exeter has received careful attention, so that there is no lack of accessible works.

In point of interest and importance Plymouth comes next, and here we must specially seek the aid of Mr. Worth. His histories of Plymouth, Devonport, and the story of the siege of Plymouth are well-known. To these we may add Rowe's "Ecclesiastical History of Old Plymouth" (1876); Jowitt's "History of Plymouth," in one quarto volume, published in 1873, and Mr. Wright's book, which appeared some six years later. The *Western Antiquary* and Transactions of the

Plymouth Institute (opened eighty years ago) will supply the rest. For Totnes, we may consult Woodley's "Antiquities of Totnes," published by Mr. Cotton, and a "Sketch of Totnes Church," by Mr. Windeatt. Stirling's "History of Newton Abbott and Newton Bushell" (published in 1830 at the former place), is the old standard authority on these parishes, but Worth has done recent work here also.

Lieut.-Col. Harding, in 1845, published at Tiverton a history of that town with illustrations. The work was issued in two volumes, royal quarto. Gribble, in 1830, dealt with "Memorials of Barnstaple," in an octavo volume. For Ashburton in the 15th and 16th centuries we may turn to the Extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts from 1479 to 1580, published in an octavo volume in 1870. Each of the other towns—Torquay, Dartmouth, Okehampton, Bideford, Crediton, and others—can shew a goodly array of compilations, some by authors of repute, and others by that too little esteemed individual "the local antiquary." Valuable as those works are, and necessary for a perfect knowledge of county history, they cannot be enumerated here, nor will the reader require a fuller list unless he is a specialist, in which case we

may refer him to the bibliographical works already referred to. He who has mastered the principal of the foregoing volumes may pride himself on having obtained a by no means despicable knowledge of this delightful county as it was in the days of auld lang syne.

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